

# NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA



## THESIS

WHITE EXTREMISM & THE U.S. MILITARY

by

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**WHITE EXTREMISM & THE U.S. MILITARY**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that the involvement of active duty military personnel in white extremist groups and activities, no matter how small in numbers, poses a serious threat to the “good order and discipline” and ultimate combat effectiveness of the U.S. military. The purpose of this thesis is twofold: 1) to produce a reference document for military commanders; and 2) to offer policy and other recommendations.

Beginning with a discussion of the two subsets of white extremists and their respective ideologies, the thesis then provides an in-depth analysis of nine contemporary groups and a profile of their membership. Following this is a discussion of sociological and psychological explanations for contemporary white extremism. Finally, this thesis outlines the Department of Defense (DoD) policy on extremism, analyzes reports released by the United States Army (USA) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) on this subject and discusses the extent of this problem DoD-wide.

Recommendations that I advocate beyond those recommended by the USA and the NAACP are: 1) the prohibition of passive participation in extremist groups; 2) that leaders receive periodic training in the indicators of extremist activity and information on local extremist groups; 3) that minorities are spread evenly throughout units so as to be present at the smallest sub-units possible; 4) that servicemembers should be assigned to barracks rooms based on these ethnically diverse small units; 5) that the DoD should prohibit the policy of “open installations;” and 6) that the DoD (e.g. the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI)) should consult with those in academia who are subject matter experts on extremism.



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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This thesis was inspired by two tragic events that occurred during the course of my studies at the Naval Postgraduate School. The first was the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on 19 April 1995. Former U.S. Army Sergeant Timothy McVeigh has been convicted and sentenced to death for his role in this atrocity. His alleged accomplice, former Private First Class Terry Nichols is currently awaiting trial. The more recent event, occurring on 7 December 1995, involved the racially motivated murders of a black man and woman in Fayetteville, North Carolina. Three members of the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne Division were convicted for these murders.

This thesis argues that the involvement of active duty military personnel in white extremist groups and activities, no matter how small in numbers, poses a serious threat to the "good order and discipline" and ultimate combat effectiveness of the U.S. military. The purpose of this thesis is twofold: 1) to produce a reference document that would be of utility to today's military commander, who is either interested in or confronted with this problem; and 2) to offer policy and other recommendations. This study is limited to only one segment of extremism in American society - and consequently the U.S. military - that being *white* extremism. Although there are several other American racial or political extremist groups that pose a threat to this country and its military, the white groups presently offer the most significant threat.

Following an introductory chapter, Chapter II defines white extremism and its two subsets: Christian Identity and Christian Constitutionalism.<sup>1</sup> The discussion of Christian Identity begins by tracing the history of two of its key tenets: white supremacy and a theologically based anti-Semitism. This is followed by a brief description of the formation of Identity, its history and beliefs, and a description of some of its more prominent figures. Similarly, the section on Christian Constitutionalism traces the history of this movement and provides an overview of its ideology.

Chapter III analyzes nine of the more prominent contemporary groups, with emphasis placed on the Militias and the Skinheads, who in my opinion offer the greatest threat to the military. These various groups were selected due to their diverse nature, i.e., they include adherents to Identity and/or

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<sup>1</sup> James A. Aho, *This Thing of Darkness: A Sociology of the Enemy* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 17-18.

Constitutionalism, and they range from terrorist organizations to those advocating non-violence. A section on member profiles is also included to give the reader an appreciation of what type of person joins these particular groups.

Chapter IV outlines several sociological explanations for white extremism as presented by Idaho State University sociologist James Aho. A psychological explanation by University of Michigan psychologist Raphael Ezekiel is also presented.

Chapter V discusses DoD policy in regards to extremist activity by members of the armed forces and analyzes and compares the findings, conclusions and recommendations of reports issued by the United States Army (USA) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the wake of the Fayetteville murders. The remainder of the chapter assesses the extent of white extremism DoD-wide. Taking the Army's and the NAACP's finding of negligible involvement of Army personnel in white extremist activity, I begin by assuming that this negligible involvement is true for servicemembers DoD-wide. This assumption is based on the rather simple, yet fairly accurate proposition that all the Services recruit from a cross section of society. This assumption is then tested and subsequently proven by analyzing white extremism within my own Service - the USMC. Besides providing an estimate of the scope of the problem, this analysis, along with the facts surrounding the Fayetteville case, allow assumptions to be made in regards to the demographics of white extremism within the military. The assumptions are: 1) that skinhead participation by servicemembers consists of groups of individuals concentrated in a few units (i.e. an Army division and a Marine regiment and air wing) and that these groups are not connected to skinhead groups outside the military; and 2) servicemember participation in other white extremist groups, such as the KKK and the militias, most likely consists of individuals widely scattered throughout the armed forces who have affiliations with groups outside the military.

DoD has implemented several of the recommendations given by the Army Task Force and the NAACP Task Force, and this should decrease the threat of white (or any racial) extremism within the ranks even further. In addition to these recommendations, I propose six others: 1) the prohibition of passive participation in extremist groups; 2) that leaders receive periodic training in the indicators of extremist activity and information on local extremist groups; 3) that minorities are spread evenly throughout units so

as to be present at the smallest sub-units possible; this should prevent the appearance or reality of “ethnically oriented” units and should allow small unit leaders to observe how their majority and minority subordinates interact; 4) servicemembers should likewise be assigned to barracks rooms based on these ethnically diverse small units; 5) the DoD should prohibit the policy of “open installations;” and 6) the DoD (e.g. the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI)<sup>2</sup>) should consult with those in academia who are subject matter experts on extremism.

Even with the implementation of the recommendations made by the Army, the NAACP and I, the future does hold several uncertainties. Projected U.S. minority population growth vis-à-vis the white majority, for example, offers some highly thought-provoking issues for the future of this country and its military. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the minority population is expected to expand from 26.7% of total U.S. population in 1996 to 47.2% by the year 2050. Of more significance to the military is the fact that minorities will comprise 64% of the recruitment age males (i.e. 18-22 years) in the U.S. by 2050.<sup>3</sup> The obvious question becomes - ‘If white extremism is a problem today for America and its military, what is in store for the future?’

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<sup>2</sup> DEOMI is the DoD organization that has oversight for the entire DoD Equal Opportunity Program

<sup>3</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P25-1130, “Population Projections of the United States by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1995 to 2050.”

## I. INTRODUCTION

This thesis was inspired by two tragic events that occurred during the course of my studies at the Naval Postgraduate School. The first event was the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on 19 April 1995. Former U.S. Army Sergeant Timothy McVeigh has been convicted and sentenced to death for his role in this atrociy. His alleged accomplice, former Private First Class Terry Nichols is currently awaiting trial. The more recent event, occurring on 7 December 1995, involved the racially motivated murders of a black man and woman in Fayetteville, North Carolina. Three members of the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne Division were convicted for these murders. In the aftermath of the Fayetteville slayings, the Secretary of Defense directed all service chiefs to assess the presence of extremism within their particular service. The Army was also mandated to act as the lead Department of Defense (DoD) agency in the assessment of current DoD policy.

This study is limited to only one segment of extremism in American society - and consequently the U.S. military - that being *white* extremism. Although there are several other American racial or political extremist groups that pose a threat to this country and its military, the white groups presently offer the most significant threat. The involvement of active duty military personnel in white extremist groups and activities poses a serious threat to the "good order and discipline" and ultimate combat effectiveness of the U.S. military. This thesis argues that countering this threat requires that commanders at all levels have a generic knowledge of these groups and this phenomenon, a clear

understanding of DoD policy, and a concrete set of tools to deal with this problem. My intent in writing this thesis is to produce a reference document that would be of utility to today's military commander. Although there is considerable literature available on the many aspects of white extremism, what is lacking is a user-friendly, single source that consolidates and synthesizes this literature.

Another goal of this thesis is to articulate the recommendations advocated by the United States Army (USA) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in reports they issued after the Fayetteville slayings. These reports are entitled *The Secretary of the Army's Task Force Report on Extremist Activities: Defending American Values* and the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Task Force Report On Community and Military Response To White Supremacist Activities In and Around Military Bases* and will be referred to henceforth as the Army Report and the NAACP Report respectively. Following this discussion of the Army's and the NAACP's recommendations, I will present some recommendations of my own.

The recent events in Oklahoma City and Fayetteville underscore the importance and relevance of this study. However, the significance of this thesis becomes even more acute when one considers certain sociological trends and forecasts. Projected U.S. minority population growth vis-à-vis the white majority, for example, offers some highly thought-provoking issues for the future of this country and its military. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the minority population is expected to expand from 26.7 % of total U.S. population in 1996 to 47.2% by the year 2050. Of more significance to the military,

is the fact that minorities will comprise 64% of the recruitment age males (i.e. 18-22 years) in the U.S. by 2050.<sup>4</sup> The obvious question becomes - 'If white extremism is a problem today for America and its military, what is in store for the future?'

In addition to McVeigh and Nichols, the involvement of other former military personnel in white extremist groups and activities also underscores the relevance of this thesis. Another case involving a former serviceman was the tragic August 1992 Ruby Ridge standoff between the Weaver family and federal marshals. Randall Weaver and his wife, who was killed in this incident, had been described as white extremists. Although this event garnered much publicity and Congressional debate, a fact that does not seem to be widely known is that Mr. Weaver was a former Army sergeant and Green Beret who served from 1968-1971.<sup>5</sup>

Another ex-soldier who emerged out of the Ruby Ridge saga was retired Green Beret Colonel James "Bo" Gritz. Brought in as an "impartial" mediator, Gritz helped to bring the standoff to an end. Gritz is himself a controversial figure who has been described as the model for "Rambo" and he has been linked more or less to white extremism. Perhaps the most prominent participant in the white extremist milieu was another retired Army colonel by the name of William Potter Gale. Gale had served on General MacArthur's staff during World War II and subsequently became a founding father of Christian Identity as well as the Posse Comitatus movement.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P25-1130.

<sup>5</sup> Aho, *This Thing of Darkness*, 54-55.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 64-65. Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 66-67 & 69.

Chapter II of this thesis defines white extremism and its two subsets: Christian Identity and Christian Constitutionalism. The discussion of Christian Identity will begin by tracing the history of two of its key tenets: white supremacy/racism against non-Caucasians and a theologically based anti-Semitism. This will be followed by a brief description of the formation of Identity, its history and beliefs, and a description of some of its more prominent figures.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, the section on Christian Constitutionalism traces the history of this movement and provides an overview of its ideology. Knowledge of the historical information presented in this section is critical for an understanding of the white extremist movement today, illustrating how some of these organizations come and go, yet the basic ideological ideas get passed on.

Chapter III will analyze nine of the more prominent contemporary groups, with emphasis placed on the Militias and the Skinheads, who in my opinion, offer the greatest threat to the military. These various groups were selected due to their diverse nature, i.e., they include adherents to Identity and /or Constitutionalism, and they range from terrorist organizations to those advocating non-violence. A section on member profiles will also be included to give the reader an appreciation of what type of person joins these particular groups.

Chapter IV will outline several explanations for the existence of contemporary white extremism and/or why certain individuals become involved in white extremist groups and activities. Various sociological explanations discussed by Idaho State

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<sup>7</sup> Aho, *This Thing of Darkness*, 17-18.

University sociologist James Aho will be presented, followed by a psychological explanation offered by University of Michigan psychologist Raphael Ezekiel.

Chapter V will articulate DoD policy in regards to extremist activity by members of the armed forces and analyze and compare the findings, conclusions and recommendations of the Army Task Force and the NAACP Task Force. The remainder of the chapter is dedicated to assessing the extent of white extremism within the DoD. Taking the Army's and the NAACP's finding of negligible involvement of Army personnel in white extremist activity, I begin by assuming that this negligible involvement is true for servicemembers DoD-wide. This assumption is based on the rather simple, yet fairly accurate proposition that all the Services recruit from a cross section of society. I then test this assumption by analyzing white extremism within my own Service - the USMC. Besides providing an estimate of the scope of the problem, this analysis, along with the facts surrounding the Fayetteville case, allows assumptions to be made in regards to the demographics of white extremism within the military (i.e., assumptions as to whether these extremists are clustered in a few units or whether they are spread throughout the entire force). This thesis concludes with a discussion of some additional recommendations I feel should be implemented.



## II. WHITE EXTREMIST TYPES & IDEOLOGIES

### A. TYPES & IDEOLOGIES

University of Nevada political scientist Leonard Weinberg effectively capsulizes who the radical right are *not* when he discusses how the phenomenon can be exaggerated:

This may be accomplished by expanding the meaning of radical rightism to include such movements as the New Right and the New Christian Right, that is, a constellation of organizations with some mass support, considerable financial resources, and a good deal of influence in setting the agenda for recent conservative administrations in Washington. To do this, however, is to distort the picture and practice a kind of academic McCarthyism. To be sure, there may be some blurring of difference at the fringes (e.g., the John Birch Society, former Arizona governor Evan Meekam), but New Right and New Christian Right groups publicly disavow racism and, if anything, represent themselves as more philo- then anti-Semitic. Their enemies are secular humanists, liberals, and Communists, not blacks, Jews, and foreigners.<sup>8</sup>

In 1990, James Aho published a comprehensive study of white extremist groups in Idaho entitled *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism*. It was here that he classified the various groups into one or more of three types: Identity Christians, Christian Constitutionalists, and Issue-oriented Patriots. Where possible, I have sought to use this classification in my discussion of the particular groups below. I have, however, completely eliminated one of Aho's types from the rubric of white extremism, that being the Issue-oriented Patriots. The groups that compose this type are the Christian Coalition, Home Schoolers, Right-to-Life groups, the Moral Majority, etc. These groups are the non-radical ones that Weinberg describes and they are therefore more properly classified as conservative right wing than white extremist. They garner condemnation and their opponents label them extremist when fanatical or mentally disturbed fringe elements of

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<sup>8</sup> Peter H. Merkl & Leonard Weinberg, *Encounters with the Contemporary Radical Right* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), 192-193.

such groups commit criminal or terrorist acts. For example, the sensational abortion clinic slayings in the last couple of years by Michael Griffin and John Salvi are examples of how the actions of two demented individuals can cause the condemnation of all those who are pro-life advocates.

Aho differentiates between Christian Constitutionalists and Identity Christians as follows, "...the division between Constitutionalism and Identity is taken to pivot around the question of who is alleged to be behind the conspiracy to subvert America's institutions: Identity Christians, however they might disagree over the precise meaning of the word, hold 'Jews' responsible for America's plight. Constitutionalists are reluctant to point to a definite ethnic, racial, or religious group, favoring instead abstract categories like 'insiders,' 'Bilderbergers,' 'trilateralists,' 'the hidden hand,' 'the network,' or 'force x.'"<sup>9</sup> The ideologies of these two sub-sets of white extremism will be discussed in detail below. It must be pointed out beforehand that neither of these ideologies are a university level complex system of thought but rather constitute a complex of slogans, myths, and beliefs signaled in phrases, symbols and actions.

## **B. CHRISTIAN IDENTITY**

This section begins by discussing the historical origins of two key tenets of Christian Identity: white supremacy and a theologically based anti-Semitism. This will be followed by a brief description of the formation of this movement, its history and beliefs, and a description of some of its more prominent figures. As stated earlier, knowledge of the historical information presented in this section is critical for an

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<sup>9</sup> James A. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 18.

understanding of the white extremist movement today. I have relied primarily on two sources for the remainder of this chapter. They are Reginald Horsman's *Race and Manifest Destiny* for the discussion on white supremacy, and Michael Barkun's *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement* for the material on Christian Identity. These sources constitute the most comprehensive and authoritative information I was able to find on these particular subjects.

### **1. Origins of White Supremacy**

The origins of white supremacy can be traced as far back as sixteenth century England. It was during the 1530s that an Anglo-Saxon myth was used by English scholars to justify England's split with the Roman Catholic Church. This myth was subsequently used in the following century by pro-Parliament writers during the conflict between Parliament and the monarchy. Essentially, the myth held that prior to the Norman invasion in 1066, England was inhabited by a pure and noble Germanic tribe known as Anglo-Saxons. These inhabitants were said to have enjoyed the purest and best forms of Christianity and democratic government ever known.<sup>10</sup>

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as a result of "...the Romantic emphasis on the uniqueness, the peculiar qualities, of individuals and peoples..."<sup>11</sup> the Anglo-Saxon myth began to take on a racist tone. "[A] burst of nationalism [during this period] specifically German and a swelling interest in the Germanic peoples that was European in scope - helped to fire the English and Americans with a vision of the Anglo-Saxons as a superior people creating nations capable of ruling

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<sup>10</sup> Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), Chapter 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

the world.”<sup>12</sup> The ethnologists, philologists, and several Romantic scholars of the period researched and articulated their views on the linguistic and geographical origins of the Anglo-Saxons. Their efforts further reinforced the belief of a unique, well endowed, and superior Anglo-Saxon race.<sup>13</sup>

During the nineteenth century the racial tinge of the Anglo-Saxon myth was further strengthened by “science.” The most significant influence came from phrenology, which was “the study of the conformation of the skull based on the belief that it is indicative of mental faculties and character.”<sup>14</sup> Amongst phrenologists, “...the belief was common that the Anglo-Saxons had the most perfect cerebral organization, an organization that placed them above other Caucasians as well as far above the non-Caucasians of the world.”<sup>15</sup>

Perhaps the most controversial issue to surface during this scientific inquiry was the validity of the biblical view of Creation. Several scientists of the time believed that the innate differences between the races could only be explained through a polygenetic Creation. In other words, each race was in fact a species that sprung from their own Adam and Eve.<sup>16</sup>

Nineteenth century racial theories that exalted the Anglo-Saxon over all other races were extremely popular in England and the United States because they seemed to explain the prosperity those two nations were experiencing. It was also seen as providential and/or an act of nature that Anglo-Saxon England should colonize the lands

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., Chapter 2.

<sup>14</sup> Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield: Merriam-Webster Inc., 1986), 887.

<sup>15</sup> Horsman, 58.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., Chapter 3.

of inferior races and that the United States should displace Indians and Mexicans, and enslave Africans.<sup>17</sup> Although this Anglo-Saxon myth was long ago discarded by the governments of the United Kingdom and the United States, as will be seen in the following chapter, the white supremacy aspect of this myth figures prominently in the ideology of most contemporary white extremist groups. In fact, this prominence of white supremacy could justify it being classified as a type of white extremism in its own right. For simplicity I have chosen to limit discussion to Identity and Constitutionalism, although this does cause some blurring of the distinction between Identity and pure supremacy in some of what follows.

## **2. Origins of the Anti-Semitism of Christian Identity**

The theological anti-Semitic tenet of Christian Identity also has its ancestral roots in Britain, in a doctrine known as British-Israelism or Anglo-Israelism. However, the irony of this kinship is so striking when one considers the fact that British-Israelism doctrine was essentially philo-Semitic and pro-political status quo.<sup>18</sup> In a superb study of the Christian Identity movement, Michael Barkun provides an account of how British-Israelism was metamorphosed, mutated, and synthesized with other doctrines to produce Christian Identity. Since Barkun is the only one who has provided an extensive treatment of this facet of Christian Identity, the following summary is based solely on his account. An appreciation of this historical transformation of British-Israelism is essential to an understanding of today's Christian Identity movement.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., Chapters 4-7.

<sup>18</sup> Barkun, vii.

“British-Israelism was a small but vigorous movement in Victorian English Protestant circles that [was millennialist in outlook and claimed] the British were the descendants of the ten ‘lost tribes’ of Israel.”<sup>19</sup> The British-Israel movement began with the publishing of *Lectures on Our Israelitish Origin* in 1850 by the Irish lecturer and author, John Wilson. Wilson’s findings included: 1) Jews came from the biblical southern kingdom of Judah, whereas the British and other Europeans (mainly Teutons) came from the northern kingdom of Israel; 2) the Jewish claim of undiluted descent from biblical ancestors was false, in that they had intermarried with Gentiles as did their Anglo-Israeli brethren; and 3) that the Jews could only be saved by accepting Jesus.<sup>20</sup> Barkun asserts that “...Wilson’s attitude toward the Jews was at once fraternal and patronizing. They were erring brothers who needed to be shown the true path to salvation by the spiritually more advanced, Israel/Britain, now made aware of its true identity.”<sup>21</sup>

Edward Hine, who followed Wilson as the unofficial leader of British-Israelism, is credited with consolidating the movement in England and North America. During the 1870s, Hine modified the doctrine of his predecessor in three respects: 1) as a result of growing British/German rivalry, the Teutons were declared not to be members of the lost tribes, but rather descendants of Israel’s ancient enemies, the Assyrians; 2) the only lost tribe residing outside the British Isles was the so-called thirteenth tribe of Manasseh, which inhabited the United States; and 3) although the Jews were considered to be subordinate to the lost tribes, their position was elevated (i.e. the negative rhetoric

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 6-7.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 8.

concerning intermarriages was dropped). From 1884-1888, Hine lectured in the northeastern U.S. and eastern Canada, and it is from Hine that Barkun identifies the beginning of three “paths” that eventually converge to create Christian Identity.<sup>22</sup>

The first path involved Hine’s influence in the creation of the Pentecostal movement in the U.S. in 1901. The movement diffused through the lower Midwest and the Southwest, and many followers eventually made their way to southern California, where the British-Israel themes they incorporated helped prepare the ground for Identity a generation later.<sup>23</sup> The second path involved Hine’s influence in the founding of the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America in 1930. The Federation became the U.S. component of the London-based British-Israel World Federation, which was formed approximately ten years earlier.<sup>24</sup> A key player in the Anglo-Saxon Federation was William J. Cameron, an employee and close confidant of Henry Ford from 1918-1946.<sup>25</sup> Prior to Cameron’s involvement with the Federation, he was the editor for Ford’s weekly, the *Dearborn Independent*, from 1921-1927. Barkun credits the *Independent* as being “...the major media outlet for anti-Semitic ideology in America [during this period].”<sup>26</sup> From May 1920 until January 1922, anti-Semitic articles were run in almost every issue, and from May 1921 until April 1927, ten articles containing British-Israel content appeared. These ten articles likewise had a strong anti-Semitic character. The *Independent* was also instrumental in popularizing *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*,<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 9-11, 19, & 71.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 18-20.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 29-30.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>27</sup> For a detailed analysis of this book see Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967). Cohn describes *The Protocols* as “... a ‘shameless plagiarism’ by an aide to the

the most famous anti-Semitic book of this century. During his involvement with the Federation (1930-1937), to include a stint as president, Cameron was instrumental in giving the organization its anti-Semitic and right-wing bent.<sup>28</sup> The third path stemmed from Hine's lectures in eastern Canada. By 1909 British-Israelism had reached Vancouver, British Columbia in the West. This Vancouver group eventually formed a close partnership with their contemporaries in the western U.S.<sup>29</sup>

### **3. Christian Identity: Formation, History, Key Figures & Beliefs**

Barkun states that during the late 1930s, Anglo-Israelism in the U.S. and western Canada underwent a final transformation that produced Christian Identity by the late 1940s. During this period organizational ties with London were severed and a geographical shift from the eastern U.S. and Canada to the western regions of those countries had a profound impact.<sup>30</sup> Summing up this period in respect to the convergence of the three paths that created Christian Identity, Barkun states that “[a]ll three streams converged in southern California, to which Pentecostalists had migrated, where the Anglo-Saxon Federation had vibrant branches and to which the ideas of the Vancouver group had filtered down the coast.”<sup>31</sup> However, the factors that joined these three paths or elements together to create Identity require further inquiry. These factors are: 1) an understanding of why, by whom, and how anti-Semitism was imbued into this ideology;

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head of the French branch of the Czarist secret police (named Cyon, pronounced ‘Zion’) of an anti-Napoleonic tract by Maurice Joly (1864). It pretends to detail the tactics of the High Jewish Council, the Sanhedrin, and the Masonic Order in their quest for world domination.” [Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 52-53].

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 50-51.

<sup>30</sup> Barkun, 47-48.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 71.

2) why southern California, specifically the Los Angeles area, became the movement's base; and 3) the importance of key individuals in the creation of Identity.

On several occasions Barkun points out that during the late 1940s there were increasing, yet hidden, anti-Semitic sentiments within "mainstream" British-Israelism circles. This was brought on primarily due to the friction between Great Britain and Israel over the latter's attempt to establish a homeland in Palestine. The Canadian group from Vancouver, in turn, elevated its anti-Semitism to an open and highly vocal level. The considerable amount of apocalyptic and anti-Semitic literature produced by this group had a profound effect on groups in Los Angeles. Two of the more significant publications produced in Vancouver were *When?: A Prophetic Novel of the Very Near Future* and *When Cog Attacks*. The first work introduced the concept of Jews being the offspring of Satan, which is a key tenet of Christian Identity doctrine.<sup>32</sup> *When Cog Attacks* presented "...a number of themes crucial in subsequent Identity thinking: Cain as the founder of the 'synagogue of Satan'; the 'Turko-Mongol' origins of Ashkenazic Jews; the blood of fallen angels among Jews and the historicity of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*."<sup>33</sup>

Los Angeles became the center of activity for British-Israelism and then Christian Identity, because from 1890-1930 it "...was one of the fastest-growing cities in the country, and with its extraordinary population increase came greater social and religious diversity."<sup>34</sup> The Pentecostal movement reached southern California and Los Angeles at

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 48, 52 & 51.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 51. Ashkenazi Jews are "... a member of one of the two great divisions of Jews comprising the eastern European Yiddish-speaking Jews." [Webster's Dictionary, 107].

<sup>34</sup> Barkun, 52.

the turn of the century, the Anglo-Saxon Federation by 1930, and the Canadians by the late 1930s/early 1940s. As will be seen shortly, southern California remained the bastion of Identity until its move to Idaho in 1973.<sup>35</sup>

Barkun provides an in-depth discussion of numerous Identity figures, with the most significant being Gerald L. K. Smith, Wesley Swift, Richard Girnt Butler, and William Potter Gale. The only background given on Smith was that he began his political career as Huey Long's "chief lieutenant," and that following Long's assassination in 1935, he began to embrace radical political positions. Smith's significance to Identity was threefold: 1) from the 1940s until his death in 1976, he was the most prominent American anti-Semite; 2) he was a major right-wing political agitator; and 3) he gave coherence to the movement.<sup>36</sup>

It is Wesley Swift (1913-1970), however, who is given the distinction of being "...the single most significant figure in the early history of Identity...[and]...[who] [m]ore than anyone else...was responsible for popularizing Christian Identity in right-wing circles by combining British-Israelism, a demonic anti-Semitism, and political extremism."<sup>37</sup> Swift was born in New Jersey and followed in his father's footsteps when, at the age of eighteen, he became a Methodist minister. Shortly thereafter he moved to Los Angeles and attended Kingdom Bible College, where it is believed he first became acquainted with British-Israel/Identity doctrine. In the mid-1940s he founded the Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation, later renamed the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, in

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 53, 50-51, & 70.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 54-55.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 60-61.

Lancaster, California. Barkun implies that Swift was somewhat of a charismatic speaker, and he states that Swift spread the Identity message through lectures and sermons in California, Oklahoma, and Texas. Examples of Swift's political extremism included his involvement in the unsuccessful attempt to revive the Ku Klux Klan in Los Angeles during 1946 and his links to two California right-wing paramilitary groups in 1965.<sup>38</sup>

An important disciple of Swift's, Richard Girnt Butler, attempted to fill Swift's void in the Church of Jesus Christ Christian in Lancaster, but he eventually relocated to Coeur d'Alene, Idaho in 1973, due to factionalism. Not all of Swift's followers accepted Butler, and those that did not remained in Lancaster.<sup>39</sup> As of 1994 "...the Lancaster church continue[d] to maintain an existence under Swift's widow, primarily as an outlet for her husband's tape-recorded sermons and publications."<sup>40</sup> Butler's faction, on the other hand, has thrived since its move to Idaho. Barkun states that Butler's "enterprises" ...[became] the most publicly visible Identity manifestations in America."<sup>41</sup> One such "enterprise," Aryan Nations, will be discussed below.

A fourth significant member of Christian Identity was Colonel William Potter Gale, USA (ret.). Colonel Gale had served on General Douglas MacArthur's staff during World War II and was medically retired in 1950 at the age of thirty-three. His involvement in Christian Identity is said to have begun in 1953 in conjunction with his involvement in right-wing politics. In 1956 Gale met Swift and was later ordained by him as an Identity minister.<sup>42</sup> According to Barkun, "Gale tried his hand at theology and

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 61-66.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. 66-67.

in fact produced a codification of Identity belief far more systematic than anything Swift has written.”<sup>43</sup> Another “contribution” made by Gale to Identity was his involvement in radical right-wing political/military groups. By his own account, he was a founding member of the Christian Defense League, which was one of the two paramilitary groups that Swift was linked to. More significant was Gale’s formation and involvement in the Posse Comitatus, which will be discussed in detail later. Gale was convicted in 1987 for tax related crimes, but died in 1988 while an appeal was pending and before he was to go into prison.<sup>44</sup>

Smith, Swift, Butler, and Gale were the men who defined and articulated Christian Identity; it is to that definition we now turn. Identity is a “pseudo-theology” built around the following three key beliefs: 1) that white “Aryans” are descendants of the biblical tribes of Israel and thus are on earth to do God’s work; 2) that today’s “Jews” are not the true Israelites, but are the descendants of Cain (who himself is considered the product of the Devil mating with Eve); and 3) that the world is on the verge of the final, apocalyptic struggle between good and evil, in which the Aryans must do battle with the Jewish conspiracy and its allies so that the world can be redeemed. The Jewish allies are non-whites whose lineage is traced to “Pre-Adamites” or “mud people.” These mud people are described as human-like creatures who inhabited the earth before Adam and Eve.<sup>45</sup> Identity clearly adheres to the notion of white supremacy, and specifically, in the belief of a polygenetic Creation that was discussed earlier.

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 69.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 67 & 69.

<sup>45</sup> Scott Parks, “Outposts of Race-based Theology; Authorities say ‘Christian Identity’ message blinds many white separatists across the nation,” *The Dallas Morning News*, 5 August 1995, Religion section, p. 1G. Parks states that federal investigators and civil rights organizations have applied what I believe to be

In essence Christian Identity has taken anti-Semitism to unprecedented extremes. Whereas earlier forms of anti-Semitism were based on Jews renouncing and assisting in the crucifixion of Christ, or of Jewish bankers and businessmen conspiring to rule the world, Identity seeks to demonize Jews by way of a theological argument. The dehumanization of Jews by Identity even arguably goes beyond that articulated by the Nazis.

### **C. CHRISTIAN CONSTITUTIONALISM**

As stated earlier, what differentiates Christian Constitutionalists from Identity Christians is who they believe are responsible for subverting America's institutions. Identity Christians hold Jews responsible, e.g. they refer to the federal government as the Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG).<sup>46</sup> The "Constitutionalists are reluctant to point to a definite ethnic, racial, or religious group, favoring instead abstract categories like 'insiders,' 'Bilderbergers,' 'trilateralists,' 'the hidden hand,' 'the network,' or 'force x.'"<sup>47</sup> However, Constitutionalists are increasingly shedding these "abstract categories" for more tangible ones, i.e. the federal government or specific agencies, groups, or individuals therein. As a means of introduction to this sub-set of white extremism, it is important to briefly trace its historical roots. James Aho traces Constitutionalism to an affiliation between members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (i.e.

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the very apt phrase of "pseudo-theology" to describe Christian Identity doctrine. Barkun, viii-ix & 151; & Merkl & Weinberg, 193-194.

<sup>46</sup> James Coates, *Armed and Dangerous: The Rise of the Survivalist Right* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1987), 77-79.

<sup>47</sup> Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 18.

Mormons) and the John Birch Society (this group is discussed in detail in the following chapter) during the early 1960s.<sup>48</sup>

Aho qualifies his discussion by stating that “[t]he associations examined here between Mormonism and radical Constitutionalism are best understood as associations of meaning rather than as causal connections. Most Mormons, like most Idahoans, are generally indifferent if not openly antagonistic to ‘Mormonesque’ patriotism.”<sup>49</sup> He further states that his intent is not “...to demonstrate that the Mormon Church has caused John Birch...activism, or that it has officially stamped right-wing extremism with its approval. Rather, what appears to have occurred is that [Constitutionalists] who also happen to be Mormon have freely appropriated Church paraphernalia and teachings to further their own political ends.”<sup>50</sup> Aho outlines how two of the key tenets of Constitutionalism - the sanctity of the U.S. Constitution and conspiracy theories - figure prominently in the Book of Mormon.<sup>51</sup>

Aho’s discussion of this association between the John Birch Society and segments of the Mormon Church centers around the affinity both organizations have for the Constitution and their belief (especially during the early 1960s) in Communist conspiracy theories.<sup>52</sup> Rather than belabor this Birch/Mormon connection any further, it is more beneficial to the understanding of contemporary Constitutionalism to present a concrete example of Mormon teachings that are embraced by today’s Constitutionalists. The

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<sup>48</sup> Southern Poverty Law Center, *False Patriots: The Threat of Antigovernment Extremists* (Montgomery: Southern Poverty Law Center, 1996), 8. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 115.

<sup>49</sup> Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 114.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 120-121.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 120-127.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 114-118.

Constitutionalist dichotomy between a divine Constitution and a government dominated by evil forces and/or personalities can easily be interpreted from statements Aho attributes to the great Mormon leader Brigham Young. Aho states that these statements should be read in the context of the anti-Mormon persecution of Young's day, but that this fact is ignored by today's Constitutionalists. Aho quotes Young as follows:

Regarding the Constitution, Brigham Young avers, "It is pure." As for the government, it is comprised of "so-called gentlemen" with "a bit of sheep's skin" in their pockets, who presume on the one hand to discipline the people, but who on the other are "not fit to live in our midst." President Zachary Taylor himself, says Young, "is in hell" just like "any other miserable sinner." Concerning the bureaucrats Taylor assigned to administer the Utah territory: "We have some of the most ... damnable mean cusses here that graced the earth." They carry the holy sanctuary in one hand "and a jug of whiskey in the other, and follow a whore and have a Saint trail behind them to hold up their garments to prevent their drabbling....I despise them and so does every good man." To such Knaves, Young warns, the Saints "will never crouch down." As *Doctrine and Covenants* teaches, against corrupt governmental officials, "all men are justified in defending themselves."<sup>53</sup>

Although white extremist Mormons can adopt their faith's views of the Constitution and conspiracies to fit a Christian Constitutionalist ideology, the pro-Judaism aspect of the Mormon religion (i.e. their belief that Jews are Gods chosen people) is what serves to prevent most from becoming Identity Christians.<sup>54</sup> The pro-Judaism mainstream Christian religions (i.e. Catholicism and the various Protestant denominations) likewise buffer their followers from embracing Identity, but although they do not necessarily preach Constitutionalism and conspiratorialism, they do not provide any similar buffers to prevent their followers from embracing Constitutionalism.

The Southern Poverty Law Center outlines several key issues that today's Constitutionalists believe offer proof that the federal government is on a mission to destroy individual constitutional rights. These issues are: "international cooperation,"

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 122.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 127-132.

“gun control,” “Weaver and Waco,” and “environmental policy.” Constitutionalists have taken former President George Bush’s phrase “the New World Order” out of context by interpreting it and increased U.S. involvement in the United Nations (U.N.) as proof that a plot exists to create a U.N. dominated global government. Besides the U.N., other “New World Order evils” abhorred by Constitutionalists include the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the Department of Education’s Goals 2000, and the Trilateral Commission (“...an alliance of powerful business interests from North America, Europe and Japan.”<sup>55</sup>). The 1994 passage of the Brady Bill - which requires waiting periods for gun buyers and bans ownership of certain assault weapons - is seen by Constitutionalists as an infringement on their Second Amendment rights and the first step in the federal governments plan to disarm its citizens. The federal law enforcement fiascoes at Randy Weaver’s holdout at Ruby Ridge, Idaho in 1992 and at the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas in 1993 have had a profound impact on the Constitutional movement. Constitutionalism has also proven to be an outlet for some ranchers and loggers who are frustrated with federal regulations that protect park lands and wildlife.<sup>56</sup>

Today’s Constitutionalists have propagated various conspiracy theories and myths to include: black helicopters are being used to spy on law-abiding citizens; salt mines in Detroit are ready to house thousands of Russian troops; Hong Kong police officers are being trained in Montana to disarm Americans; the government has developed fuel air

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<sup>55</sup> Rick Barry, “Resurgent Birch Society draws bead on old foes,” *The Tampa Tribune*, 30 October 1995, Nation/World section, p. 1.

<sup>56</sup> Southern Poverty Law Center, 8-9.

bombs that can supposedly instantly vaporize human flesh; laser weapons are trained on Patriots by federal agents; markings on the backs of road signs are coded directions to guide invading U.N. forces; surveillance cameras are hidden on the top of street light posts; concentration camps are being built to house Patriot resisters; crematoriums are in place in Indianapolis, Kansas City and Oklahoma City; the eye above the pyramid on the back of U.S. dollar bills is the sign of the Illuminati, the secret sect founded in 1776 in Bavaria that is allegedly plotting a world takeover. Besides the U.N. and the Trilateral Commission mentioned earlier, other enemies of Christian Constitutionalists generally include: President and Mrs. Clinton; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; the Federal Bureau of Investigation; the Federal Emergency Management Agency (perceived to be a national police force that will be used to enforce martial law in the U.S.), the Internal Revenue Service, and the Council on Foreign Relations ("...an international association of academic and other foreign policy experts, opinion-makers and international businessmen that publishes *Foreign Affairs* magazine."<sup>57</sup>).<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Barry, 1.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 9-11.



### III. CONTEMPORARY GROUPS & MEMBER PROFILES

#### A. INTRODUCTION

Attempting to determine exact numbers of those involved in today's white extremist groups is apparently futile, for as Weinberg says, we are not dealing with the formalized type of membership that can be found in such organizations as the American Medical Association. Utilizing 1988 and 1989 figures from organizations that track various white extremist groups, Weinberg concludes that "...we are probably dealing with a pool of some 10,000 individuals with an unknown but likely much larger number of sympathizers."<sup>59</sup> In respect to the size of the movement, Aho simply states that "... Laird Wilcox's *Comprehensive Guide to the American Right* lists nearly 3,500 far-right organizations functioning in America in 1986...."<sup>60</sup> Ezekiel, writing in 1995, estimates "... 23,000 to 25,000 hard-core members[,] ... 150,000 sympathizers [who] buy movement literature, send contributions to movement groups, or attend rallies, and another 450,000 people who don't actually purchase movement literature do read it."<sup>61</sup> Estimates of adherents to one of the white extremist typologies (i.e. Identity and Constitutionalism), or of membership to particular groups, are likewise very broad in scope. For example, Barkun estimates Identity membership to be between 2,000 to over 50,000.<sup>62</sup>

The groups discussed below were selected from the growing multitude of white extremist groups because they are, or were, the most prominent and/or offer(ed) the

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<sup>59</sup> Merkl & Weinberg, 190.

<sup>60</sup> Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 10.

<sup>61</sup> Raphael S. Ezekiel, *The Racist Mind* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1995), xxi.

<sup>62</sup> Barkun, viii.

greatest threat to society at large. The apparent dichotomy between this discussion of contemporary groups and groups that "were" requires some clarification here. The term "contemporary groups" is defined to include both those currently existing and those that operated within the last 10 years or so. The importance of these older groups lies in the influence they have had on numerous groups operating today. The groups selected for discussion include: 1) Aryan Nations; 2) the Covenant, Sword and the Arm of the Lord (CSA); 3) the Ku Klux Klan (KKK); 4) the Order; 5) the Freemen; 6) Posse Comitatus; 7) the John Birch Society; 8) the Militias; and 9) the Skinheads. The discussion of the Militias and the Skinheads will be significantly more detailed than the other groups because I feel they pose the greatest threat to the military.

Aryan Nations, the CSA, the KKK, the Order, the Freemen and most skinhead groups can generally be classified as Identity Christian groups; the John Birch Society is a Constitutional group; and depending on which Posse or Militia one is talking about, it is either pure Constitutional or a Constitutional/Identity cross. Where the literature has so stated, I have indicated those groups identified as Christian Identity. Other groups - i.e. the KKK and most skinhead groups - I have classified as Identity groups because they adhere to its two key tenets - anti-Semitism and white supremacy. The ideas of these various Identity groups draw heavily on the historical origins of anti-Semitism and white supremacy discussed earlier. The purely Constitutional groups are not anti-Semitic or advocates of white supremacy, but are included in this discussion of contemporary groups because their membership is predominantly Christian and white, and because of the extremity of their beliefs.

## B. SELECT CONTEMPORARY GROUPS

### 1. Aryan Nations

This paramilitary extremist group was created by William Girnt Butler in the mid-1970s. It is headquartered near Hayden Lake, Idaho, but according to a recent Anti-Defamation League (ADL) report, it apparently enjoys a multi-state following. In addition to quoting the Oregon "state coordinator" of Aryan Nations, the report states, "Several new 'state offices,' often consisting of a mail drop, have opened in the past years."<sup>63</sup> The group also has an active prison outreach program that not only maintains contact with imprisoned members, but acts as a recruitment tool. This prison "ministry" has caused the creation of Aryan Brotherhood, which is a network of prison gang members.<sup>64</sup>

Aryan Nations hosts an annual summer event known as the World Congress of Aryan Nations (also referred to as Aryan Nations Congress). Raphael S. Ezekiel devotes an entire chapter of his recent book, *The Racist Mind*, to one of these Congresses. The fact that Butler allowed him to attend is amazing, given the fact that Ezekiel is Jewish. Ezekiel's account provides two key insights into the Congress and Aryan Nations itself. The first is the extent to which the annual event and the group have interwoven Nazism and Christian Identity. Along with the Identity speeches, sermons and ceremonies, there are Nazi marching songs, salutes, and swatzstikas, as well as portraits of Adolph Hitler. Second is the diversity of the Congress, both geographically and based on group

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<sup>63</sup> Anti-Defamation League (ADL), *Paranoia as Patriotism: Far-Right Influences on the Militia Movement* (New York: ADL, 1985), 9-10.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

affiliation. Ezekiel mentions participants from throughout the U.S., Canada, Australia, and Europe as representing Identity churches, Klan groups, and Skinheads. This diverse participation, albeit all-white extremists, does seem to indicate that Aryan Nations desires or, in fact, possesses a leadership role in the Identity movement. One aspect of the Congress not observed or mentioned by Ezekiel is the urban terrorism and guerrilla warfare courses that - according to the ADL - are offered.<sup>65</sup>

Aryan Nations suffered from internal difficulties in 1993 when four key members resigned. One of these members was Carl Franklin, the group's chief of staff and heir-apparent to Butler. Aryan Nations' Ambassador-at-Large, Louis Beam, has replaced Franklin and will probably be Butler's successor in the future.<sup>66</sup>

## **2. The Covenant, The Sword, and The Arm of the Lord**

The CSA "...was a paramilitary survivalist group which operated an Identity-oriented communal settlement near the Arkansas-Missouri border" from 1971 - 1985. The group consisted of about 100 individuals and was formed and led by James Ellison, a former fundamentalist minister. They stockpiled weapons, food, and survival gear, conducted firearms training, and studied military tactics, all in preparation for the "ultimate holocaust" or "coming tribulations."<sup>67</sup>

Following the 1983 Aryan Nations Congress, the CSA went into action by firebombing a synagogue in Indiana, burning a church in Missouri, and attempting to sabotage a natural gas pipeline that supplied Chicago. In April 1985, the CSA commune

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid. & Ezekiel, 37-57.

<sup>66</sup> ADL, *Paranoia as Patriotism*, 9-10.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 13.

was raided by the FBI, resulting in the seizure of hundreds of weapons, bombs, an anti-tank rocket, and quantities of cyanide. By the end of 1985 Ellison and six of his associates were in federal prison and the group fell apart.<sup>68</sup>

### **3. Ku Klux Klan**

In 1980, sociologist Ted Gurr reported to the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Crime that the country was in the midst of the fourth wave of neo-nazi and Klan activity in the last 115 years (the three others occurring during the 1870s, the 1920s, and the 1960s). The heyday of the Klan was during the 1920s when it became a powerful national organization and membership reached 1.2 million. It was during this period that anti-Semitic and anti-foreigner sentiment were added to the anti-black ideology of the Klan. Throughout its history, Klan activities have ranged from non-violent boycotts, parades, ceremonies, and cross-burnings, to tar and feathering, abductions, lynching, murder, and other forms of coercion.<sup>69</sup>

Current Klan membership is estimated to be about 6,000.<sup>70</sup> There are a total of 53 Klan groups operating in the U.S. today. Although 25 states have Klan groups, over half the groups (i.e. 28) are located in the southeast. North Carolina, with five separate KKK groups, has the greatest number of groups per state.

Given the high concentration of military bases in the southeast, and in North Carolina in particular, the military must stay alert to active duty servicemember involvement in the KKK. The North Carolina groups are located within a 19 - 154 mile

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 13-14.

<sup>69</sup> Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 6. Directorate of Research, Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI), *DEOMI Special Topics Pamphlet 94-1* (Patrick Air Force Base, FL: DEOMI, 1994), 4.

<sup>70</sup> DEOMI, *Special Topics Pamphlet*, 5.

radius of Fort Bragg and a 115 - 170 mile radius of Marine Corps Base Camp Lejeune.<sup>71</sup>

The Anti-Defamation League states, "Hardly anything remains of the Klan in the Rocky Mountain and Western states...[because it] has long since been displaced by such other hate groups as the Aryan Nations, White Aryan Resistance and the Posse Comitatus."<sup>72</sup>

However one that is still active in California is located less than 40 miles from Marine Corps Base Camp Pendleton.<sup>73</sup> Although involvement of active duty servicemembers in the KKK appears to be significantly less than their involvement in the skinhead culture, it has occurred. Examples include: (1) "In Feb 1990, five Air Force security policemen were discharged for active participation in the KKK - one of the five was the KKK's 'Kleagle,' or top recruiter for the Texas area!;" (2) "In June 1995, soldiers participated in a KKK rally at a farm of a white youth murdered by black youths. The white youth was killed for allegedly displaying a Confederate flag in his truck window;" 3) In September 1995, a Marine SNCO [Staff Non-Commissioned Officer] was seized with numerous weapons and ammunition in the trunk of his car. He was a card carrier of the KKK."<sup>74</sup>

Rather than attempt to provide information on all the various Klan groups operating today, what follows is a description of the largest and most influential group. That group is the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, led by Thom Robb of Harrison, Arkansas. In its report on Robb and his KKK group, the ADL states that "[o]ver the last several years, Robb has toned down the Klan's extremist rhetoric in a deceptive effort to make it more palatable to the public. He has urged his followers to avoid harsh, racist language

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<sup>71</sup> DEOMI, *Extremist Handbook* (Patrick Air Force Base, FL: DEOMI, 1996), 7-8. Rand McNally, *1992 Road Atlas* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1992), 72-73.

<sup>72</sup> ADL, *The KKK Today: A 1991 Status Report* (New York: ADL, 1991), 19.

<sup>73</sup> DEOMI, *Extremist Handbook*, 7-8. Rand McNally, *1992 Road Atlas*, 14-15.

<sup>74</sup> DEOMI, *Extremist Handbook*, 2-3.

and emphasize instead their 'love of the white race.'"<sup>75</sup> The ADL report goes on to say that the group's involvement in civic-minded programs and not wearing their robes in public is a facade. Evidence of Robb's racism and anti-Semitism is provided by two racist statements attributable to him that he made to his constituents.

Robb's moderate image has caused discontent within the group in the last couple of years. Leaders from Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois have rejected the moderation approach and have split off from Robb's group. Despite these defections, his group is still the most important Klan group in the country today.<sup>76</sup>

#### **4. The Order**

This group was alternately known as Bruders Schweigen, Silent Brotherhood, or the White American Bastion. Although the group was short-lived (1983 - 1985), it is considered by the ADL to have been "...the most violent and notorious domestic terrorist group of the 1980s."<sup>77</sup> The Order was founded by Robert J. Mathews, a recruiter for the neo-Nazi National Alliance. Barkun states that peak membership was just under forty and Aho gives an indication of the group's diversity by listing the following past group affiliations of the Order's members - Church of Jesus Christ Christian, Aryan Nations, Ku Klux Klan, CSA, National Alliance, and the John Birch Society. Most of the Order's members apparently grew weary of the rhetoric and inactivity of their former groups and were seeking action and adventure.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> ADL, *Paranoia as Patriotism*, 36.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. Barkun, 231. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 65.

Aho, Barkun, and the ADL all agree that the inspiration for the Order and its activities was a fictitious novel, *The Turner Diaries*, written by William L. Pierce. Pierce, who is the leader of the National Alliance, wrote under the pseudonym Andrew MacDonald.<sup>79</sup> Having read *The Turner Diaries* myself, and then accounts of the Order, I wholeheartedly agree that this was a case in which fantasy became reality. Some of the major views expressed in the book were: 1) disgust over “race mixing” (in the biological sense), racial integration, and gun-control legislation; 2) hatred towards minorities and Jews, and blaming them for essentially all of America’s ills; 3) the emphatic belief that change could only be effected by a bloody revolution in which the current US government is swept away; and 4) the eventual worldwide extermination of all non-whites and Jews. The Order’s hatred for Jews and the federal government was one and the same; this group apparently coined the phrase “Zionist Occupation Government” or “ZOG,” that has become a buzzword for many of today’s white extremist groups.<sup>80</sup>

The crimes committed by the Order included two murders, counterfeiting, and armed robbery. Both murders were conducted in 1984; the first was Order member Walter West, who had aroused the suspicion of his comrades. His murder was followed by the murder of Alan Berg, a Jewish radio talk-show host in Denver, well known for baiting rightists on the air. If the Order was not put out of business, other murders would have followed, given its hit list of Jewish enemies and “race traitors.” This list consisted of Morris Dees (founder of the Southern Poverty Law Center), Norman Lear, Baron Elie

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<sup>79</sup> Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 62-64. Barkun, 229. ADL, *Paranoia as Patriotism*, 28 & William L. Pierce: *Novelist of Hate* (New York: ADL, 1995), 4-5.

<sup>80</sup> Coates, 42.

de Rothschild, Jacob Javits, and Armand Hammer. The group's armed robberies were lucrative and at times sensational. Most noteworthy were the 1983 robbery of the Seattle City Bank (\$25,000); the March 1984 robbery of an armored car in Seattle (\$500,000), utilizing a theater bombing as a diversion; and the July 1984 robbery of a Brinks armored car in California (\$3.6 - \$3.8 million).<sup>81</sup>

The FBI was able to finally break the Order as a result of evidence left at the Brinks car robbery and from an informant who was caught passing counterfeit money. In December 1984, Mathews was killed in Whidbey Island, Washington, after a 36-hour standoff with 200 law enforcement officers. By late 1985, 23 members of the Order had been tried and convicted in Seattle, and about half were sentenced to 40 - 100 years in prison. The investigation had required 25% of the FBI's manpower and the subsequent trial cost over \$1 million.<sup>82</sup>

## **5. The Freemen**

The Freemen who peacefully surrendered in June 1996, after an 81-day standoff with the FBI, in Jordan, Montana, do not appear to be linked to an earlier group called the Freemen Institute. According to Aho, the Freemen Institute was formed in 1971, and at some point subsequently changed its name to the National Center for Constitutional Studies. The Freemen Institute was a purely Constitutionalists group, whereas the Montana Freemen are a Constitutional/Identity group, as will become clear below. Citing FBI estimates, the ABC news stated that the Freemen group has about 150 members, with most of them residing in Montana. However, a recent ADL report

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<sup>81</sup> ADL, *Paranoia as Patriotism*, 26. Barkun, 228. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 63.

<sup>82</sup> ADL, *Paranoia as Patriotism*, 26-27. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 61.

suggests a larger following and discusses activity in 18 states. The report also states that about 800 people have traveled to "Justus Township" (the name given by the Jordan, Montana Freemen for their compound) within the last year for workshops on how to produce false financial documents.<sup>83</sup>

The March 31, 1996 edition of The Washington Post outlines the Freemen's credo as follows: "...that all forms of organized government are illegitimate and have no right to collect taxes or even require auto tags; that they could form their own government; that they could defy foreclosure actions, issue arrest warrants and hold trials of government officials; that they could act as their own central bank and defraud the government, financial institutions and merchants." The article later describes the group's philosophy as "...a hodgepodge drawn from the Old Testament, the Magna Carta, the anti-tax Posse Comitatus of the 1980s and a highly selective reading of the Constitution, is laced with racism and talk of a Jewish conspiracy, and puts them at the extreme of the Christian patriot movement."<sup>84</sup> The *Austin American Statesman* edition of March 31st indicates that the Freemen "...have been heavily influenced by the Christian Identity and Posse Comitatus movements."<sup>85</sup> Finally, the presence of Christian Identity beliefs are apparent from the following statements attributable to Rodney Skurdal, a 43-year-old former Marine master sergeant and the leader at Justus Township during the siege: "The white

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<sup>83</sup> Reuter, "Freemen Charged in Updated Indictments," *The Washington Post*, 23 November 1996. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 21 & 118. ABC World News Tonight, March 27, 1996, 6:30 p.m. E.T., transcript # 6062. ADL, *The Freemen Network: An Assault on the Rule of Law* (New York: ADL, 1996), 1.

<sup>84</sup> Tom Kenworthy & Serge F. Kovaleski, "'Freemen' Finally Taxed the Patience of Federal Government," *The Washington Post*, 31 March 1996, Section A, p. A01.

<sup>85</sup> James Brooke, "Montana standoff splitting families; Jailed Freemen member warns ending will 'be worse than Waco,'" *Austin American Statesman*, 31 March 1996, News section, p. A1.

race are God's chosen people. We the people means the white race and none other. Jews were fathered by Satan.”<sup>86</sup>

The standoff at Justus Township began on March 25th when the FBI arrested Leroy M. Schweitzer, the group's leader, and Daniel E. Petersen, Jr., outside their compound. The two, along with 13 others who surrendered, are awaiting trial on various federal and state charges, including conspiracy, bank and mail fraud, threatening public officials and firearms violations.<sup>87</sup> The success and extent of the fraud is reported in *The Washington Post*: “The federal indictments allege the Freemen defrauded banks, public agencies and private businesses of some \$1.8 million since late 1984, sometimes by writing fraudulent checks for twice the amount due and then demanding refunds. Authorities in Utah, California, Colorado, Wyoming, South Dakota and elsewhere have uncovered similar schemes and linked the fraud rings to Schweitzer. Overall, authorities allege that phony money orders worth \$20 million were disseminated as part of the fraud..”<sup>88</sup> In addition to all the criminal activity directed at government and its officials, the Freemen have for the last couple of years created adversarial relationships with many of their neighbors and relatives. They have threatened to confiscate private and public cattle grazing land and incorporate it into Justus Township. Many of the Freemen's

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<sup>86</sup> James Brooke, “Behind the Siege in Montana, Bitter Trail of Broken Bonds,” *The New York Times*, 31 March 1996, Section 1, p. 1, col. 1. ABC News, transcript # 6062.

<sup>87</sup> Kenworthy & Kovaleski, A01. Brooke, “Behind the Siege...,” Section 1, p. 1, col. 1. Howard Pankratz, “Freemen linked to racist views,” *The Denver Post*, 31 March 1996, Section A, p. A-01. Reuter, “Freemen Charged in Updated Indictments,” *The Washington Post*, 23 November 1996. ABC News, transcript # 6062.

<sup>88</sup> Kenworthy & Kovaleski, A01.

neighbors welcomed the FBI's involvement and it appears the Bureau got involved because the locals were getting ready to take action against the Freemen.<sup>89</sup>

## 6. The Posse Comitatus

Posse Comitatus, meaning "force or power of the county," is both a name and ideology embraced by several groups. The belief shared by all Posse groups is that any government above the county level is illegitimate. As such, they reject the imposition of state and federal income taxes and laws, as well as the validity of higher courts. What is not clear, given the following expert opinions, is to what extent Posse members adhere to Identity beliefs. These various opinions and sources are: 1) all Posse members are Christian Identity activists [1995 ADL report]; 2) "[w]hile Posse Comitatus is not an Identity movement per se, Identity figures have been extremely prominent in it." [Barkun]; and 3) although Aho categorizes it as a Constitutional group in his Introduction, he later distinguishes between Identity and non-Identity Posse groups.<sup>90</sup> It seems to be that all Posse groups are Constitutional, but not all are Identity believers.

Barkun states that "Posse Comitatus organizations began to appear about 1969 and can claim two separate but almost simultaneous beginnings, one in Portland, Oregon, under Henry L. "Mike" Beach, and the other in southern California under William Potter Gale."<sup>91</sup> Beach's Posse, the Citizen's Law Enforcement and Research Committee, is non-Identity, whereas the Posse formed by Gale, the United States Christian Posse Association, is definitely Identity-oriented. Other non-Identity Posse are two from

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<sup>89</sup> Brooke, "Behind the Siege...," Section 1, p. 1, col. 1. Pankratz, Section A, p. A-01. ABC News, transcript # 6062.

<sup>90</sup> ADL, *Paranoia as Patriotism*, 29. Barkun, 221. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 18-19 & 45-47.

<sup>91</sup> Barkun, 221.

Idaho, the Bingham County Posse led by a "devoted Mormon housewife," and the Madison County Posse, which was formed in the early 1980s. Two additional Identity Posse are the Kootenai County, Idaho Posse, which was led for a period by Richard Girnt Butler, and an unnamed Posse led by Identity minister James Wickstrom that operates in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania.<sup>92</sup>

As stated earlier in the **Christian Identity** subsection, Gale was convicted of tax-related crimes as a result of his Posse activities. Another noteworthy incident occurred in 1983 when active Posse member Gordon Kahl murdered two Federal marshals in North Dakota who attempted to arrest him for a parole violation in connection with an earlier conviction for non-payment of taxes. "Kahl later died in a shoot-out with Arkansas law enforcement officials in which a local sheriff was also killed..."<sup>93</sup> It is unknown how many of the above Posse, or others, are currently operating, because as the ADL report states, they are "intermittently active." What is apparent is that the Posse Comitatus ideology has been embraced by the Freemen of Montana, and as will be shown later, by some of the Militia groups

## **7. The John Birch Society**

The John Birch Society (JBS) was founded in 1958 by Robert Welch, "a born-again Massachusetts candymaker....Its title memorializes a Baptist missionary to China, who, it is said, was martyred for the cause of liberty by agents of the international Communist conspiracy."<sup>94</sup> Currently the Society's headquarters is in Appleton,

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 221-222. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 22 & 45-47. ADL, *Paranoia as Patriotism*, 29-30.

<sup>93</sup> ADL, *Paranoia as Patriotism*, 29.

<sup>94</sup> Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 114.

Wisconsin, and its president is John F. McManus, a resident of Boston and former Marine Corps officer.<sup>95</sup>

The Society has throughout its history been the nation's foremost anti-Communist and anti-United Nations-oriented group. It considers both Communism and the U.N. to be threats to the sovereignty of the U.S., and it further deems U.S. military involvement under U.N. auspices as un-Constitutional. The individuals allegedly behind the conspiracy to supplant the U.S. and its Constitution with "The New World Order," are identified by the Society as a worldwide ruling elite called the "Insiders."<sup>96</sup> Birchers believe the Insiders are based in the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) and in the Trilateral Commission.<sup>97</sup> Every president since Woodrow Wilson has been identified as an Insider by the Society, and in 1958 Welch even referred to President Eisenhower as a Communist. Recent members of the CFR, and therefore "Insiders," include House Speaker Newt Gingrich and former Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Colin Powell.<sup>98</sup>

The John Birch Society is a Constitutional group that believes strongly in various conspiracy "theories," but it opposes violence. Its national spokesman emphasizes that the Society does not support the militia movement and states that change "...can be made through informed voters 'supporting candidates who favor less government and lower taxes.'"<sup>99</sup> Similarly in a speech before the U.S.M.C. Advanced Logistics Officer Course (ALOC) at Norfolk, Virginia, on 20 April, 1994, John

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<sup>95</sup> Barry, 1. City News Publishing Company, Inc., *The constitution, the president and congress; speech by John Birch Society President John F. McManus* [given 20 April 1994] (Vital Speeches, 1 August 1994, Section: Vol. 60; No. 20; Pg. 634 ).

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Barry, 1.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

McManus stated, “While there is mention in the Declaration of Independence of the right of the people, in the face of ‘a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations...to throw off such government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security,’ neither I nor the John Birch Society believe in following such a course today. What we propose instead is the creation of citizen demands to force our own leaders to restore the Constitution to full force and effect.”<sup>100</sup>

Aho states in his Introduction that there are Jewish Birchers, and he later discusses strong ties between the Society and Idaho Mormons, who adhere to the traditional belief of Jews being God’s chosen people. He also states that the Society “...has explicitly and repeatedly denounced racism and anti-Semitism in its writings.”<sup>101</sup> Having said this, Aho, however, concludes that “[n]evertheless, even its own leadership admits that the Society has tended to attract Jew-baiters, among them Revilo Oliver, a University of Illinois classics professor whose work is now advertised by National Alliance, an avowed Nazi splinter group; Robert DePugh, ex-convict and founder of the Minutemen; and the original leader of the Order, Robert Mathews. The Society must bear some responsibility for this embarrassing state of affairs, if for no other reason than the nature of some of its publications. Gary Allen’s *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*, which has had a decided

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<sup>100</sup> City News Publishing Company, Inc., *The constitution, the president and congress; speech by John Birch Society President John F. McManus* [given 20 April 1994] (Vital Speeches, 1 August 1994, Section: Vol. 60; No. 20; Pg. 634 ). 27 March 1997 e-mail from Major George P. Sandlin, USMC (former ALOC Course Developer) to Major Lawrence M. Curtin: McManus was one of five speakers who addressed the ALOC on this date concerning the U.N., and he was the only one who was a member of the JBS. He was invited to speak on “U.N. History & Impact Today.” He was invited because he had written and spoken extensively on the subject and because he was a former Marine and JBS member. Major Sandlin felt that by having McManus speak it would add balance to the discussion. Essentially McManus was a curiosity (former USMC officer turned JBS President) and was invited under the spirit of academic freedom. Sandlin was disappointed that McManus did not address the subject quite like he requested.

<sup>101</sup> Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 16, 115-118,127-132 & 255.

impact on countless Idaho patriots, may serve as an example. While disclaiming anti-Semitism on one page, on the next Allen is marshaling evidence that Jewish banking families are indeed behind America's financial woes.<sup>102</sup> Aho points out that Allen is in all probability not anti-Semitic, but the problem becomes how his views are interpreted by the less astute.<sup>103</sup>

## **8. The Militias**

In 1994 the ADL published *Armed & Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government*, in which it detailed militia activity in 13 states. Six weeks after the Oklahoma City bombing, the ADL published a supplement entitled *Beyond the Bombing: The Militia Menace Grows*, in which militia activity was described in 40 states. The 10 states not having militia activity were the New England states (except New Hampshire), New Jersey, Maryland, Nevada, North Dakota, and Hawaii. It must be pointed out that the ADL only provides two to four sentences in describing militia activity in nine out of the additional 27 states mentioned in the second report. Although these descriptions, and a few others, can give the impression that the ADL is grasping at any information that would make the militia movement more omnipotent than it is, the estimated total militia membership of 15,000 given by the ADL, appears reasonable. Furthermore, in the majority of states covered by the ADL, information on militia activity ranged from several paragraphs to several pages, and was detailed in scope.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 255.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 257.

<sup>104</sup> ADL, *Beyond The Bombing: The Militia Menace Grows* (New York: ADL, 1995).

A more recent report, by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), identifies 441 militias in all 50 states. The report also states that paramilitary training sites exist in at least 23 states and that “[t]he most sophisticated training camps have 700 yard sniping ranges and demolition grounds for bomb testing. Target practice takes place with automatic weapons, large caliber machine guns and .50-caliber sniper rifles. Explosives manufacture and demolition techniques are also studied and practiced.”<sup>105</sup> It would go well beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss all the militias operating in the U.S.. It would also be an unnecessary duplication of the material produced by the ADL and the SPLC, which is readily available to the general public. What is important to the military commander, and what will be discussed shortly, are relationships between the U.S. military and specific militia groups and personalities.

Two catalysts for the rapid growth of the Militias were the 1992 standoff between the Weaver family and federal agents at Ruby Ridge, Idaho and the 1993 standoff between the Branch Davidians and federal agents in Waco, Texas. In both cases it appears that the federal government's handling of the incidents only reinforced the resentment many on the far-right felt towards “big brother.” Perhaps the best and most balanced account of the Ruby Ridge tragedy is provided by Aho in a chapter entitled, *Standoff on Ruby Ridge: A Study in the Mutual Construction of Enemies*. Aho blames both Weaver and the federal government for what occurred; Weaver for his extremism/intransigence and the government for precipitating the incident by an unlawful reconnaissance of Weaver's property and its handling of the incident as if it were a

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<sup>105</sup> Southern Poverty Law Center, 20.

military operation. In regards to the Waco incident, an ADL report that discusses its influence on the growth of the Militia movement states that a federal investigation found that the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) and the FBI exercised poor judgment. According to another ADL report, many Militia groups are now using a third event, the Oklahoma City bombing, as evidence of a government conspiracy. These groups believe that it was the federal government that orchestrated the bombing.<sup>106</sup>

The militias to various degrees believe the U.S. government has conspired to diminish or eliminate the Constitutional rights of its citizens. Many also believe this conspiracy includes the U.N. and the attempt to form a "New World Order." The militias cite Amendment II to The Constitution of the United States, "A well regulated Militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed," as justification for their existence and their staunch opposition to gun control legislation (i.e. the Brady Bill). To counter the "New World Order," most, but not all, of the militias believe they must be well armed and trained. Some of the groups feel that they will be able to defeat the "New World Order," through deterrence, while others believe that they must destroy it in an inevitable war. Those that adhere to the Christian Identity ideology are likely to believe the "New World Order" is being run by a worldwide ZOG.<sup>107</sup>

Militias are one of the two extremist groups that I believe pose the greatest threat to the U.S. military. Being paramilitary in nature, it would stand to reason that they would welcome or even entice active duty personnel or veterans into their groups. These

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<sup>106</sup> ADL, *Paranoia as Patriotism*, 5. Aho, *This Thing of Darkness*, 50-67. ADL, *Beyond The Bombing*, 3.

<sup>107</sup> Coates, 77-79.

individuals would constitute a pre-trained source of manpower, if not a training cadre for the group. The cultivation of Militia/U.S. military links could also facilitate the procurement of weapons, ammunition, equipment, and intelligence. The SPLC report substantiates these assumptions with the following statements: 1) “Some of the paramilitary instruction is provided by Vietnam and Gulf War veterans, mercenaries, active duty military and law enforcement personnel”,<sup>108</sup> and 2) “Armament from military installations frequently finds its way into the Patriot underground. Among the weapons, explosives and other equipment stolen from military bases are Stinger missiles, LAW rockets, plastic explosives, night-vision goggles, automatic rifles and pistols, hand grenades, blasting caps and military-grade ammunition.”<sup>109</sup> The following is a state-by-state listing in which any relationship between a militia and the U.S. military exists or existed:

#### **Georgia**

- The Georgia Militia is led by Frank Smith, an “Air Force veteran.”<sup>110</sup>

#### **Iowa**

- The self-described “national contact” for the Iowa Militia is Paul Stauffer, an “Air Force veteran.”<sup>111</sup>

#### **Michigan**

- See Mark Koernke (a.k.a. “Mark from Michigan”) below.

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<sup>108</sup> Southern Poverty Law Center, 20-21.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>110</sup> ADL, *Beyond The Bombing*, 12.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 16.

- In February 1995 the FBI sent officials at Camp Grayling, a National Guard base, a fax in which they warned of an impending militia attack to destroy 14 Soviet bloc vehicles located on the base. The vehicles were being used for an Air Force test, but apparently the militia saw it as a buildup of "New World Order" forces. The raid was never conducted, apparently because the militia found out that the FBI and base authorities were forewarned.<sup>112</sup>

- Former Army Sergeant Timothy McVeigh and former Private First Class Terry Nichols, two of the Oklahoma City bombing suspects, had attended several Michigan Militia meetings. The Militia states that they denied membership to the two, due to their extreme beliefs, and it also denied any involvement in the bombing.<sup>113</sup>

### **New Hampshire**

- Fitzhugh MacCrae, the leader of the Hillsborough Troop of Dragoons, told the *Boston Globe* that his group comprises 63 members, of whom two-thirds are combat veterans.<sup>114</sup>

### **Texas**

- "The Dallas-area militia, known as the North Texas Constitutional Militia...has engaged in paramilitary and survival exercises near the Texas-Oklahoma border. These exercises have included the S.T.A.R. (Strategic Training for Assistance

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<sup>112</sup> Stephanie Saul, "Armed, Angry; Militants in America's heartland; Who are they?: A Look At Militias," *Newsday*, 30 April 1995, News section, p. A07.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid. "Shadow Warriors: Suspected Bomber Timothy McVeigh was Nourished in a Bizarre World of Soldiers and Survivalists," *People*, 8 May 1995, 58. Thomas G. Watts, "Roots of the far right; New militia groups have philosophical link with anti-Communist Minutemen of early '60s," *The Dallas Morning News*, 28 June 1995, News section, p. 1A. ADL, *Beyond The Bombing*, 19.

<sup>114</sup> ADL, *Beyond The Bombing*, 25.

and Readiness) program. According to its materials, S.T.A.R. is conducted by a 'cadre' of 'former Rangers, Seals, Green Berets, and Martial Arts Experts.'<sup>115</sup>

### **Virginia**

- According to an Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) official, James Roy Mullins, a founding member of a militia-like group called The Blue Ridge Hunt Club, was planning a burglary of the National Guard Armory in Pulaski, Virginia. Mullins' July 1994 arrest and subsequent conviction for federal firearm convictions foiled his plans.<sup>116</sup> Mullins "...liked to tell stories about his adventures as a commando in Vietnam—none of which were true: He'd served in the Air Force, but he'd never been to Southeast Asia."<sup>117</sup> Another member of this group was Bill Stump, a former Marine and Persian Gulf War veteran. Stump was the group's "Official Political Liaison Officer."<sup>118</sup>

The following is a description of three former U.S. military men who have become important figures in the militia movement:

#### **Louis R. Beam**

Aho states that Beam was a helicopter door gunner in Vietnam in 1967 and 1968. Upon leaving Vietnam and the Army, he became involved in the KKK and managed paramilitary training camps for Klansmen in east Texas.<sup>119</sup> Beam is currently the "Ambassador-at-Large" for Aryan Nations and the heir apparent to William Girt Butler. Beam's contribution to the Militia Movement has been his articulation and advocacy of

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>116</sup> ADL, *Armed & Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government* (New York: ADL, 1994), 25. ADL, *Beyond The Bombing*, 32.

<sup>117</sup> Peter Carlson, "A Call to Arms," *The Washington Post Magazine*, 13 October 1996, 13.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 14 & 35-36.

<sup>119</sup> Aho, *This Thing of Darkness*, 53.

the concept of “leaderless resistance.” Under this concept “...activity is autonomous, organized around ideology rather than leaders. It is explained as a system for keeping secret the plans of terrorist assaults against the Government, known only to a few individuals in small leaderless cells in order to prevent leaks or infiltration.”<sup>120</sup> The ADL states that the concept was fathered in 1962 by Colonel Ulius Amoss in the event of a Communist takeover of America, and that Beam has adapted it as a tool against the U.S. Government.<sup>121</sup>

**Colonel James “Bo” Gritz, U.S. Army (ret.)**

“Bo Gritz served as an intelligence officer and reconnaissance chief for Delta Force, a Green Beret unit, in Vietnam from 1964 to 1969. Following hostilities, he became commander of U.S. Army Special Forces in Latin America, and later chief of ‘special activities’ for the U.S. Army General Staff at the Pentagon.”<sup>122</sup> Gritz became estranged from the U.S. Government and embraced conspiracy theories after his involvement in Vietnam and Latin America. During his Vietnam tour he claims that he discovered the participation of high level American officials in Burma’s opium trade. Similarly, while in Latin America, he claims that the CIA was involved in cocaine trafficking.<sup>123</sup>

Aho describes Gritz as the model for Rambo and states that he “...became prominent in civilian circles when in 1983 he led the first of four failed missions to Laos to rescue United States servicemen presumably still held captive by the Communists.”<sup>124</sup> In 1992 Gritz further emerged as a public figure when he ran for President on the Populist

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<sup>120</sup> ADL, *Paranoia as Patriotism*, 33.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Aho, *This Thing of Darkness*, 64.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 64-65.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 65.

Party ticket and when he successfully mediated the Ruby Ridge standoff between Randy Weaver and the FBI. He has recently attempted to similarly mediate the Montana freeman standoff.<sup>125</sup>

Gritz's contribution to the Militia Movement is his weapons and survival training course called Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events (SPIKE). Although the ADL states that Gritz has "traveled the country" conducting this course, in the ADL's state synopses, SPIKE is only mentioned as having been conducted in three states - California, Texas, and Gritz's home state of Idaho.<sup>126</sup>

### **Mark Koernke**

Koernke (a.k.a., "Mark from Michigan") is a self-described former U.S. Army Intelligence Officer and Counter-Intelligence Analyst. He currently resides in Dexter, Michigan, and works as a janitor at the University of Michigan. He is extremely popular in Militia circles for his numerous videotapes that detail supposed U.S. Government conspiracies and others that have a militant "how-to" theme. He is also in popular demand as a guest lecturer, and according to the ADL has spoken to Militia groups in no less than nine states.<sup>127</sup> It was also reported in one of the ADL reports that "...[a]ccording to press reports, he was a friend, perhaps even a mentor, of Timothy McVeigh ... and was an associate of the Nichols brothers ...."<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 64. ADL, *Paranoia as Patriotism*, 19.

<sup>126</sup> ADL, *Beyond The Bombing*, 14, 8 & 31.

<sup>127</sup> ADL, *Paranoia as Patriotism*, 21 & *Beyond The Bombing*, 19, 8-9, 12, 17, 18, 22, 29, 31, 33.

<sup>128</sup> ADL, *Paranoia as Patriotism*, 21.

## 9. Skinheads

The murders of Mr. Michael James and Ms. Jackie Burden on December 7, 1995, in Fayetteville, North Carolina by Private First Class James M. Burmeister, 2d, and Malcolm Wright, Jr., and Specialist Four Randy Lee Meadows brought shock and disbelief throughout the nation and its military. A common thought, no doubt, was something such as, "Hey, I thought these guys (gals) were supposed to be protecting us, not killing us." However, once one delves into some of the research already conducted on skinheads and/or considers some of the past exploits of this culture, some of the shock wears off. In fact, according to Cable News Network (CNN), the Fayetteville incident was not unprecedented. Apparently a similar murder was conducted three years earlier in which ".three white soldiers from Fort Stewart gunned down a black ex-Marine, apparently for racial reasons in Savannah, Georgia."<sup>129</sup> Furthermore, according to the January 21, 1996 issue of *The Dallas Morning News*, 40 murders have been attributed to the skinheads in the last eight years, 34 of them since 1990.<sup>130</sup> The Skinheads are the second group that I believe pose the greatest threat to the U.S. military. As will become apparent below, the Skinhead culture is one that has a certain appeal to those in their late teens/early twenties, which is the age group of recruits and junior enlisted personnel.

Perhaps the single best source for understanding the skinhead culture and menace is Mark S. Hamm's *American Skinheads: The Criminology and Control of Hate Crime*,

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<sup>129</sup> Cable News Network , December 12, 1995, 10:13 p.m. E.T., transcript # 1323-1.

<sup>130</sup> Serge F. Kovaleski, "Racist, nonracist skinhead culture emerging across U.S.," *The Dallas Morning News*, News section, p. 5A.

which was published in 1993. Most of what follows are Hamm's findings from his in-depth study of the phenomenon in general, along with his specific study of 36 skinheads.

Skinheads are a European export that have spread to five other continents. “[T]oday thousands and thousands of violent neo-Nazi skinheads are scattered throughout the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Portugal, Denmark, Canada, Australia, Brazil, and Egypt.”<sup>131</sup> Smaller groups are located in 21 other countries.<sup>132</sup> Skinhead violence in the U.S. pales in comparison to Britain and Germany. “During the 1980s, racial attacks in Britain reportedly increased to 70,000 a year, primarily because of skinhead violence.”<sup>133</sup> And in Germany, as of 1991, an estimated 3000 foreigners have been assaulted or killed by neo-Nazi skinheads.<sup>134</sup>

Hamm begins his history of the skinhead movement through a detailed and insightful analysis of post-World War II British youth culture. Like the two other movements studied thus far, White Supremacy and British-Israelism, the skinhead movement is another one that originated in Britain. The dependent variables that Hamm considers in the multitude of youth groups he discusses, are: 1) musical preference; 2) socio-economic status of group members; 3) socio-economic status of Britain; and 4) group perceptions/interactions vis-à-vis other groups. The independent variable is, of course, the group itself (and therefore the group's ideology).

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<sup>131</sup> Mark S. Hamm, American Skinheads: *The Criminology and Control of Hate Crime* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1993), 65.

<sup>132</sup> ADL, *The Skinhead International: A Worldwide Survey of Neo-Nazi Skinheads* (New York: ADL, 1995).

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., xvi.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., xv.

Hamm discusses two generations of skinheads; the first existed for a very short period between the early-to-mid 1970s, and the second emerged in the early 1980s. The first generation's "...value system began by mixing two seemingly incompatible sources, the culture of the black Jamaican immigrant and the working-class worker."<sup>135</sup> They constituted a hippie counter-culture and were influenced by the economic austerity of the period. Besides enjoying the earlier reggae music, they enjoyed "hippie, paki (i.e. Pakistani immigrant), and queer bashing." They were distinguishable by their attire, which consisted of short hair, hiked-up jeans, Ben Sherman workshirts, and Doc Marten boots. The demise of the first generation occurred due to a dramatic transformation of reggae that in effect removed the Jamaican aspect of the skinhead value system, and due to a crackdown by Scotland Yard.<sup>136</sup>

Although the second skinhead generation emerged in the early 1980s, it was in its embryonic stages shortly after the demise of the first generation. Hamm asserts that it emerged partially in response to the brazen new subculture of homosexuals called the "casuals" with their leisure rock (e.g. Boy George and Culture Club). However, he states further that "[a] more critical reason why the London skinheads came along again has to do with a deliberate, well-organized recruitment and indoctrination campaign to bring thousands of European youth into the ranks of right-wing extremism."<sup>137</sup>

The founder of the second skinhead generation is Ian Stuart Donaldson. He was born in 1958 in Blackpool, England, and was raised in a stable, middle-class suburban

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 24-27.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 31.

household. In 1975 Donaldson dropped his surname and became simply Ian Stuart. Also in the same year he formed a band called Tumbling Dice, which was renamed Skrewdriver in 1977. During this period he became acquainted with some leftover first generation skinheads. By 1979 he had established a political action group called White Noise and had forged an alliance with the neo-fascist organization known as the British National Front (NF). Skrewdriver and White Noise soon fell into bad financial times when the band's first album did not sell. Retreating back to Blackpool for a couple of years, Stuart and his associates eventually embraced a full-throttled neo-Nazi ideology.<sup>138</sup> "In order of importance, they were anti-immigrant (anti-black), anti-communist, anti-Semitic, anti-gay, and anti-IRA."<sup>139</sup>

Stuart, Skrewdriver, and Blood and Honour Club (White Noise's new name) re-emerged in London in 1981. Hamm asserts that the nationalistic and anti-immigration rhetoric of the Thatcher administration combined with the political action of the NF caused the birth of the second skinhead generation in 1981.<sup>140</sup> He also discusses how the growing popularity of Stuart, his band, the skinheads, and the NF resulted in all the right-wing European (mainly in Britain and Germany) violence mentioned earlier.

Three more things concerning British skinheads that must be mentioned in order to facilitate an understanding of the American skinhead movement are: Oi music, skinhead attire, and the Blood and Honour bulletin. Many of the news articles on American skinheads that have emerged since the Burden/James murders have mentioned

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 31-33.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

skinhead appreciation of Oi music. “*Oi* is an old gypsy term used by cockney workers years ago, meaning ‘Hey!’ (‘*Oi, you!*’).”<sup>141</sup> Oi was created by a group of now-defunct bands and it was based on the drunken, patriotic style of British pub sing-alongs. Skrewdriver adopted Oi, but supplemented the nationalistic theme with a white power one, and gave the music a heavy metal beat. The second generation skinheads’ traditional “look” consists of shaved heads, white power T-shirts, Doc Martens, and Viking and Nazi regalia and tattoos. The Blood and Honour bulletin is a racist neo-nazi fanzine published by Stuart and his associates that has been disseminated in the U.S. to members of the KKK and the American Nazi Party.<sup>142</sup>

By the mid-1980s Oi and the skinhead look and ideology were being embraced by segments of American youth. However, according to Hamm, “[w]ere it not for Tom Metzger - the Fallbrook, California, TV repairman who subscribed to Ian Stuart’s newsletter *Blood and Honour* back in the winter of 1985 - the American neo-Nazi skinheads would never have become more than scattered, short lived groups led by disturbed individuals.”<sup>143</sup> Metzger was born in Warsaw, Indiana, in 1939, and was a U.S. Army draftee who attained the rank of corporal upon his discharge in 1961. Two years later he began his involvement in far-right groups and politics. He started out as a member of the John Birch Society but moved progressively right by joining the KKK and becoming an Identity minister. By 1980 he was projecting the new image that was being advocated by Thom Robb. Metzger ran for the U.S. House of Representatives in 1980

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 34-36.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 42.

and even won a California Democratic Congressional Primary. He was, however, defeated in the general election by the Republican Party candidate. Metzger also made an unsuccessful bid for the U.S. Senate two years later.<sup>144</sup>

Hamm asserts that as a result of the demise of the Order, "...the ever-radical Tom Metzger jumped back into the fray...[and] implemented seven initiatives designed to interject the Skinhead Nation into American culture. Although these initiatives covered a wide range of recruitment strategies, they all had one thing in common: Each sought to appropriate British skinhead values, style, and music to bring thousands of American youths into the revolutionary movement initiated by the Order."<sup>145</sup> These initiatives were: 1) W.A.R.; 2) The War Zine; 3) "Race and Reason"; 4) *Oprah and Geraldo*; 5) The W.A.R. Board; 6) The W.A.R. Hotline; and 7) The Aryan Youth Movement.

White Aryan Resistance (W.A.R.) was the organization established by Metzger to attract skinheads. After becoming a reader of *Blood and Honour*, he established a friendship with Stuart and other British skinheads. Although in his late 40s, Metzger gained an appreciation for skinhead music as a youth motivator. W.A.R. was created on the emotional appeal of this music and was designed to be "...dynamic, hip, urban, and the champion of a white working class against a white ruling elite."<sup>146</sup>

Metzger's second through sixth initiatives were basically to recruit, sustain, and inflame the U.S. skinhead movement via various methods of racist and anti-Semitic communication. The War Zine is a slick youth magazine; "Race and Reason" was a

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 42-46.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 51-52; 52.

videotaped series for public access television; the W.A.R. Board is an on-line bulletin board, and the W.A.R. Hotline offers taped telephone bulletins. The *Oprah* and *Geraldo* initiative refers to mainstream television mediums that provided Metzger and the skinheads notoriety and praise from the far right. On "The *Oprah Winfrey Show*," the skinheads made blatantly racial and anti-Semitic statements on the air, and during a commercial break Oprah was called a "monkey" by one skinhead and a "nigger whore" by another. In an interview with a New York City skinhead, Geraldo Rivera, another talk show host, received a broken nose, an event that was much celebrated in far-right circles.<sup>147</sup>

The final initiative undertaken by Metzger was his taking over an organization known as the Aryan Youth Movement. Metzger uses the A.Y.M. as a means "...to transform California high schools and college campuses into forums for [his] view and [as a] recruiting grounds for skinheads."<sup>148</sup> A.Y.M. publishes a monthly bulletin that has been distributed to California schools and to other schools nationwide.<sup>149</sup>

Addressing skinhead membership in the U.S., Hamm states that "...although no one (including the U.S. Department of Justice) collects comprehensive statistics on hate group members in the United States, evidence suggests that the number of racist skinheads in the nation has been growing at a spectacular rate."<sup>150</sup> However, using estimates provided by the FBI, the ADL, and the Center for Democratic Renewal, he concludes that skinhead membership had increased by 1000% ("several hundred" to

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 52-57.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 57-58.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 11.

3,000 ~ 3,500) between November 1987 and April 1989.<sup>151</sup> The most recent ADL publication (1995) dealing with skinheads states that peak membership remains at essentially 3,500 spread throughout 40 states.<sup>152</sup> Hamm also cites a 1989 ADL report that states neo-Nazi skinheads have infiltrated the ranks of the U.S. Army. This fact is significant, in that the Burden/James murders and the presence of U.S. military personnel involved in skinhead activity caused so much shock six years later.<sup>153</sup>

Another “revelation” in both the Army’s and the NAACP’s reports that were conducted in the aftermath of the Fayetteville homicides, as well in the news, is the presence of nonracist skinheads both at Fort Bragg and nationwide. Some sources even mention a group called SHARPs (Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice), thereby denoting some form of organizational structure to this movement. As it turns out, these nonracist skinheads are not something that was just discovered; in fact, Hamm wrote about them four years ago. He referred to them as “anti-racist skinheads” and, in addition to SHARPs, he spoke of several other groups. Although his study dealt primarily with the racial skinheads, he did point out that the anti-racists saw themselves as a vigilante force vis-à-vis the racist skinheads. He also mentioned that a significant portion of skinhead violence is attributable to conflict between these two subsets, and that the anti-racist skinheads have members that are every bit as violent as their racist counterparts.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> ADL, *The Skinhead International*, 77. For an excellent overview of skinhead groups in each of these 40 states, see ADL, *Young Nazi Killers: The Rising Skinhead Danger* (New York: ADL, 1993).

<sup>153</sup> Hamm, 59.

<sup>154</sup> National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), *Task Force Report On Community and Military Response To White Supremacist Activities In and Around Military Bases* (March 1, 1996), 3. Department of the Army (DA), *The Secretary of the Army’s Task Force Report on Extremist Activities: Defending American Values* (March 21, 1996), 9 & 31. Ibid., 9-10 & 219.

Hamm's take on the nonracist skinheads was collaborated recently in *The Dallas Morning News*. However, in the Army Report there existed an implicit concern for distinguishing between the two subsets. And in a CNN interview with several nonracist skinheads, the theme seemed to be that the Army was on a witch-hunt and was throwing the baby (good nonracists) away with the bath water (bad racists).<sup>155</sup> The Army and several news sources claim the problem of distinguishing between these two groups is that all skinheads dress alike, i.e. in the British second skinhead generation style.

The ADL identifies what can be considered a third group of skinheads:

In addition to the full-blown [racist] Skinheads there are at least an equal number of so-called "wanna-be's," youngsters who aspire to the status of regular Skinheads. The wanna-be's mimic the dress and style of Skinheads, listen to their "oi" music, and share many of their prejudices. They are usually young people living in areas where there are no organized Skinheads gangs; alternatively, they remain outside the ranks of actual Skins because they are fearful of the consequences of "coming out."<sup>156</sup>

Hamm's in-depth study of racist skinheads involved 36 subjects throughout the U.S., and included group leaders, followers, and even four who were imprisoned. The group was subdivided into terrorists and non-terrorists. "To be classified as terrorists, subjects had to meet three criteria: (1) they must have indicated that they joined their group to fight for the survival of their race (thereby establishing grounds for the political or social objectives of their violence); (2) they must have engaged in one or two fights in which, (3) at least half were against people of another race (thus satisfying the operational definitions of both terrorism and hate crime)."<sup>157</sup> Hamm found his sample consisted of 22 terrorists and 14 non-terrorists.

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<sup>155</sup> Kovaleski, 5A. DA, *Task Force Report*, 31. Cable News Network, February 9, 1996, 1:40 p.m. E.T., transcript # 89-6.

<sup>156</sup> ADL, *The Skinhead International*, 77.

<sup>157</sup> Hamm, 101-102; 109-110.

In assessing the skinhead look from his sample, Hamm concludes that "...the traditional skinhead style is in a state of flux in America. Most terrorist skinheads do not look like skinheads at all. It appears that most of them do not "shave-up" as they say within the subculture; none of them wear donkey jackets, red suspenders, or Ben Shermans. They do not wear swastikas or SS badges anymore. Perhaps they are too busy going to school and working at blue-collar jobs. Or perhaps they are too busy dodging the law enforcement agents for their unprecedented string of hate crimes. Indeed, perhaps the neo-Nazi look has become too conspicuous for the skinhead subculture, and they have collectively decided to clean up their act."<sup>158</sup> In **Chapter V**, a detailed analysis of the involvement of active duty Marines in the skinhead culture is conducted in order to assess the extent of white extremism in the DoD. One of the findings is that there is no evidence to suggest that there are any of these incognito terrorist skinheads within the U.S. military.

From this analysis, it was also determined that there exists some differences in the way racist skinheads (to include "wanna-be's") and SHARPS dress. On 26 March 1996, a Marine and self-proclaimed SHARP, was a government witness in an administrative discharge board being conducted for a racist skinhead "wanna-be." The witness's account of his first encounter with the racist skinhead "wanna-be," and his comments regarding a photo in which the racist skinhead "wanna-be" was in, reveal that the SHARP had no problem in distinguishing between a racist and nonracist skinhead. The SHARP testified as follows:

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 130.

"When the respondent and I met, I immediately identified him as a racist because of the combination of the Doc Martens with the white shoe laces, the shaved head, and the German flag instantly made me assume that he was a racist and I identified him as a racist....When I was shown Government Exhibit 22, which is a blow-up of a photo, the outfit that they're wearing, the suspenders, is commonly known as "braces." White suspenders mean that you believe in [the] white race, you support racism and the white race; and the red suspenders mean that you've supposedly shed blood in the cause for [the] supreme white Aryan race."<sup>159</sup>

The witness went on to describe how he got into a heated argument with the racist skinhead "wanna-be" over their respective ideologies. In describing his argument it becomes apparent that the wearing of Nazi symbols (tattoos, insignia, etc.) by racist skinheads is the biggest thing that sets the two groups apart in appearance, the white laces and "braces" appear to be secondary.

In 1996, the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI), which has oversight for the entire DoD Equal Opportunity Program, published the *Extremist Handbook*.<sup>160</sup> This handbook contains some good information on skinheads, to include clothing. From this source, it appears that the British manufactured "Fred Perry" polo shirt is now more popular than the Ben Sherman workshirt. Other relevant information includes:

"Some groups wear their pants rolled up or tailored so that the full height of the boot is exposed. 'Dickies' are popular, and sometimes Levis. The [s]kinheads try to avoid Levis because the believe Levi Strauss Company is part of the ...ZOG....Flight [j]ackets, known as 'Flights.' are also part of some [group's] uniforms....Black, olive drab, or maroon are the preferred colors. The inside lining of Flights have personalized graffiti, while the outside may be plain or embellished with pins and patches that (similar to tattoos) reflect the wearer's beliefs."<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> This information was extracted from the administrative separation documents of the Marine who was discharged. These documents were provided by Chief Warrant Officer-2 (CWO-2) Christopher J. Lee, USMC, who is the Personnel Officer for 7th Marine Regiment. Privacy considerations preclude a more detailed citation of these documents and the mentioning of names.

<sup>160</sup> DEOMI, *Extremist Handbook*.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 17.

The sections of the *Extremist Handbook* dealing with indicators (i.e. tattoos, insignia, and white power bands) of white extremism are most helpful, and extracts of them can be found at the APPENDIX to this thesis. Although most of the material on indicators pertains to skinheads, other groups are represented as well. The APPENDIX also contains some information from the two ADL publications referenced in this section.

### C. MEMBER PROFILES

Utilizing a 1988 ADL report on 55 prominent rightists, Leonard Weinberg offers the following portrait of those individuals who lead and publicize the various radical right groups and causes:

- all 55 were male [ADL reports since Weinberg wrote now include one female, Linda Thompson, who they consider a key player in the Militia Movement<sup>162</sup>]
- average age was slightly under 52
- most born in U.S., however, 15% born in Europe
- almost 67% lived in small towns
- geographical location of sample from highest to lowest was South, Midwest, West and Northeast
- most held middle class jobs as insurance salesmen, real estate agents, high school principals, attorneys, ministers, state legislators, etc.<sup>163</sup>

Table 3.1 below is a summary of Aho's findings on education level, sex and mean age of Identity Christians and Christian Constitutionalists. It offers the best approximation for the groups discussed thus far, except for the skinheads, who will be discussed separately. As stated in **Section B**, Aryan Nations, the CSA, the KKK, the Order, and the Freemen are/were considered to be Identity Christian groups; the John Birch Society is a Constitutional group; and depending on which Posse or Militia one is talking about, it is either pure Constitutional or a Constitutional/Identity cross.

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<sup>162</sup> ADL, *Paranoia as Patriotism*, 31. ADL, *Beyond The Bombing*, 15.

<sup>163</sup> Merkl & Weinberg, 190.

Table 3.1 Education, Sex and Age Profile of Identity Christians and Christian Constitutionalists<sup>164</sup>

	Identity Christians	Christian Constitutionalists	White Americans	Identity/Constitutionalist Terrorists
Graduate Degree	7.8%	8.9%	8.0%	*
Undergraduate Degree	31.4%	26.0%	17.1%	*
H. S. Graduate	91.6%	92.5%	68.8%	*
% Female	15%	19.9%	*	*
Mean Age	44.9	50.8	*	35.8

\* no statistics available

In regards to the skinhead profile, Hamm once again offers the most comprehensive description. Beginning with the background characteristics of his sample of 36, he states "...the sample was comprised of twenty-seven males and nine females, who ranged in age from fourteen to twenty-five years old, with a mean age of 19.6 years. A total of 61 percent of the subjects...lived away from home and the remainder lived with their parents. Only two subjects have ever been arrested for a felony crime. Length of involvement in the subculture ranged from six months to eight years, with a mean of approximately three years."<sup>165</sup> In assessing "class origin," Hamm found that of his 22 terrorist subjects, most (77%) came from blue-collar families, whereas most (71%) of the non-terrorists came from white-collar families.<sup>166</sup>

Hamm finds that all of his terrorist subjects have aspirations to further their education, whereas only one-half of the non-terrorists do. And in regards to occupational

<sup>164</sup> Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 143 (Table 7.3) & 148 (Table 7.6).

<sup>165</sup> Hamm, 106.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 110-111.

goals, all the subjects except one female non-terrorist desired either white or blue-collar employment. In assessing current educational status, Hamm found that all subjects were conformists in their accessibility and commitment to mainstream education. Finally, in evaluating current occupational status, he found that the terrorists overwhelmingly embraced the American work ethic, yet non-terrorists only halfheartedly embraced it (i.e. 29% were unemployed).<sup>167</sup>

The ADL collaborates Hamm's economic profile of skinheads and, in addition, provides the following: "Their roots often lie not in economic decay but in domestic instability; a high portion of American Skinheads come from broken homes or single-parent families. Their gangs - like other American youth gangs - often serve as surrogate families for their members. They frequently live in communal homes and apartments. Those who live with their families often do so under tense conditions; parents rarely approve of their Skinhead children's views or way of life."<sup>168</sup>

The preceding analysis reveals some key differences between skinheads and the rest of the white extremist movement. An understanding of these differences is useful in sorting out skinheads from the other members of the movement. The most significant difference is age; skinheads are young adults, whereas the rest of the movement is comprised mainly of middle aged members. The skinheads have a somewhat larger female membership than their contemporaries; 25% as compared to 15% - 20%. There also is a disparity between educational levels, in that skinheads are less educated than the members of other groups.

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 111-114.

<sup>168</sup> ADL, *The Skinhead International*, 78.



#### IV. SOCIOLOGICAL/PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPLANATIONS FOR CONTEMPORARY WHITE EXTREMISM

Attempting to explain the emergence of today's white extremism would be a thesis topic in itself. My intent in this chapter is to briefly review several sociological hypotheses discussed by Aho and a psychological explanation offered by Ezekiel. It must be pointed out that Aho's and Ezekiel's hypotheses/explanations were limited to Idaho and a particular Detroit group, respectively. But as I indicated earlier, Aho's study is applicable to much of the white extremist phenomenon nationwide, and is therefore useful for this section's discussion. Ezekiel offers the only comprehensive psychological explanation I have found. His ideas are compelling and I believe applicable to other urban areas throughout the country.

Aho discusses several standard sociological hypotheses before offering his own alternative explanation of right-wing extremism. However, he states up front that "...[w]e will not be able to definitively accept or reject any of these hypotheses....The reader who yearns to discover the single overarching Cause of Idaho rightism will be disappointed. As for any phenomenon involving human beings, the correlates of patriotism are multiple and sometimes seemingly contradictory."<sup>169</sup>

Aho applied and evaluated five standard sociological theories to his Idaho patriots (i.e. white extremists). The five theories were: the educational theory, the mass theory, the political socialization theory, the two-step theory of mobilization, and the status insecurity theory. "The educational theory holds that right-wing extremism is due largely

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<sup>169</sup> Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 136.

to an absence of formal education or to its failure to inculcate in the individual citizen an intellectual commitment to democratic principles....The mass theory maintains that what makes individuals prone to mobilization by extremist groups is...their estrangement from the local community, their isolation from ordinary channels of belonging.”<sup>170</sup> Aho states that the political socialization theory and the two-step theory of mobilization are both “learning” theories. These theories hold that “[r]ight-wing radicals are ‘socialized’ to this orientation by the words and examples of those with whom they are most deeply bonded: parents, teachers, friends, co-workers, or pastors....Political socialization theory in particular focuses on *what* kinds of prior group affiliations are associated with specific political outlooks. The two-step theory, on the other hand, analyzes the process of *how* political commitments are generated.”<sup>171</sup> The status insecurity theory, as the name implies, holds that threats to an individual’s or group’s socio-economic status will cause right-wing extremism.

Applying the educational theory, Aho found that it did not explain the right-wing extremism in Idaho. It was determined that Idaho Christian patriots were in fact found to be better educated than most Americans. However, Aho qualifies this with “...the sample appears to have entered fields of study and attended institutions of higher learning not particularly noted for instilling a cognitive commitment to democracy.”<sup>172</sup>

Table 4.1 below, is a summary of Aho’s findings from his application of the mass theory. As can be seen, most indicators of the mass theory are “disconfirmed” and Aho

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 137.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 136; 137-138.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 138-146; 146.

later concludes that the theory in general provides equivocal but generally negative findings. The “unclear” finding for political participation was due to the fact that Aho lacked comparative data for Idaho as a whole, to compare with data he had on his sample.<sup>173</sup> Aho’s confirmation of the political participation indicator is best summarized in his own words:

Both Constitutionalists and Identity Christians are alike in respect to their having rates of occupational isolation about one and a half times the Idaho average. Most of this is due to the overabundance among the patriots of itinerant preachers, freelance intellectuals, and self-employed organizers and political consultants. However, as with the mobility and sectarianism data, it is difficult to say whether the choice of isolated work preceded and thus increased the probability of the respondents’ becoming radicalized, or whether their occupational careers are the result of a world-rejecting Christian life style. Both hypotheses are plausible, and impressionistic evidence lends credence to both.<sup>174</sup>

Table 4.1 Summary of Findings Relating to the Mass Theory of Political Extremism<sup>175</sup>

<u>Structural Indicators of Isolation</u>	<u>Status of the Theory of Mass Politics Relative to this Measure</u>
Marriage instability	Disconfirmed
Political participation	Unclear
Occupational isolation	Confirmed
Religious alienation	Disconfirmed
<u>Demographic Indicators of Isolation</u>	
Age	Disconfirmed
Sex	Disconfirmed
Geographic mobility	Disconfirmed

In regards to the political socialization theory, Aho believes, but admits he cannot prove, that it offers an explanation for the proposition that in Idaho membership in fundamentalist or conservative churches is a precondition for recruitment into the Christian patriot movement. He does later qualify this by saying that a fundamentalist/conservative religious background is not necessary and sufficient for

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 162 & 212.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 161.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 162 (Table 7.11).

recruitment. This is based on the fact that 25% of his sample came from a background that was Catholic, liberal, or nonreligious, and also because the vast majority of those with a fundamentalist/conservative background did not become involved with the patriot movement.<sup>176</sup>

Aho finds substantial confirmation for the two-step theory of mobilization in his study of Idahoan patriots. He states that "...what distinguishes patriots from ordinary Idahoans is their access to and involvement in what may be called a patriot 'opportunity structure.'"<sup>177</sup> In other words, if an individual, by whatever circumstances, found himself/herself in a patriot-rich environment, it would facilitate that person's recruitment into the movement.

An article in the 1 April 1996 edition of *Navy Times* discusses the conservative climate of the military as being a possible cause of white extremism in the military. The article quotes experts who point to the replacement of the draft with the all-volunteer force as the cause for this conservative climate and therefore white extremism in the military. Lawrence Korb, a former assistant secretary of defense, states, "Volunteers have a longer initial term of service, reenlist in much higher numbers, and have a far lower turnover rate than draftees. Their conservative tendencies are constantly reinforced, and young soldiers can be easy prey to the extreme right wing groups that are proliferating."<sup>178</sup> Charles Moskos, a military sociologist at Northwestern University, adds "...with the end of the draft, there is a virtual nonexistence of the white liberal

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<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 180 & 182.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 209.

<sup>178</sup> Patrick Paxton, "Rooting Out Hatred in Uniform," *Navy Times*, 1 April 1996.

enlisted person.”<sup>179</sup> What Korb, Moskos and others are in essence proposing is that this conservative climate creates a patriot “opportunity structure” within the military. Although this is an interesting proposition, I do not agree with it, and consequently I do not believe the two-step theory of mobilization is a useful theory for explaining white extremism within the military. I have been a member of this all-volunteer force for almost 15 years and I have never felt that I have been in a patriot-rich environment or a part of an elite organization that only welcomes white members. In fact, the argument could be made that the conservative nature of the military (i.e. servicemembers view themselves as being servants of the federal government) is fundamentally at odds with the anti-federal government ideology of many of the white extremist groups. As I will argue in the next chapter, I feel the U.S. military is a reflection of the society from which it recruits, and that that is why there are white extremists to be found in the military.

By way of introduction into his alternative explanation of right-wing extremism, Aho briefly describes and critiques the status insecurity theory as used by Lipset and Raab in *The Politics of Unreason*.<sup>180</sup> There are two tenets of the Lipset/Raab theory, as sketched by Aho, that require mentioning. The first provides a better understanding of the theory in general and the second aids in understanding Aho’s later alternative explanation. The first tenet is that this theory is unique to right-wing movements because they, unlike the left-wing, are interested in status preservation. The other tenet is that the Manichaeistic dualism, conspiratorialism, historical simplism, moralistic advocacy of violence, and bigotry by the right-wingers are less neurotic symptoms than ‘cultural

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, *The Politics of Unreason* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

baggage' that any American political group must adopt if its commodity is to be marketed successfully.<sup>181</sup>

Aho's criticism of Lipset's and Raab's work begins when he states that they never explicitly define "status displacement." His main criticism though, is pointing out that their theory did not seem to hold in certain historical cases. For example, the early 1950s was a time of unprecedented and widespread prosperity in America, yet right-wing activity also flourished. He states further that "...they [Lipset/Raab] never do provide concrete evidence of status insecurity for any of the movements they study."<sup>182</sup>

Turning to his alternative explanation of right-wing extremism, Aho asserts that it is consistent with the information he gained from applying the other theories and "...with the bewildering variety of alleged status threats cited by Lipset and Raab."<sup>183</sup> He does, however, state that his hypothesis is not a fully documented proposition and requires further research.<sup>184</sup>

Aho uses a modified theory of "projective politics" to explain right-wing extremism. Rejecting status threats, Aho asserts that the projection into the public scene of the "cultural baggage" mentioned by Lipset/Raab is the real catalyst for right-wing extremism. Of central importance is the "baggage" of religious fundamentalism.<sup>185</sup>

As stated earlier, Ezekiel provides a psychological explanation for why white inner-city youth in Detroit have joined an extremist group. The group he analyzed was the Death's-Head Strike Group (author's pseudonym), which was formed in the late

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<sup>181</sup> Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 212-213.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 214-215; 215.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 218.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 219.

1970s. He refers to the group as neo-Nazi but never uses the word “skinhead.” He also asserts the group is *not* a gang because sociological studies of gangs indicate that they are not formed along racial lines. Although Ezekiel does not specifically state when his study was conducted, writing in 1995, he states that the interviews were conducted a few years ago. He also states that he believes the interviews today would not be particularly different and that “...the lives and mental patterns displayed in the Detroit group are frequent throughout the white supremacist movement.”<sup>186</sup>

The following are Ezekiel’s findings of the group and its members based on his observations and in-depth interviews of 20 subjects:

- group was almost entirely male
- median age = 19
- 90% lost a parent when young
  - 89% of lost parents were fathers
  - 83% of loss due to divorce/separation
  - median age at which parent was lost = 7
- absent parent typically had no contact with spouse or child
- stepfathers/transient boyfriends were typically cold, rough, and abusive
- subjects enjoyed very weak immediate and extended family connections
- church and social agencies played no role in subjects’ families
- school played no role in helping the subjects build a sturdy sense of self
  - of 16 members whom school history was known, 6 had quit school in the 9th grade, 3 in the 10th, and 4 in the 11th
- 7 subjects reported parental alcoholism
- 7 subjects reported family violence
- 7 subjects reported serving time at detention centers, jails, or prisons
- subjects came from three distinct neighborhoods
  - two neighborhoods were extremely poor and whites were a minority (i.e. two - three white families per block)
  - the other neighborhood was half white and half black; families ranged from working class downward
- the subjects had to fight a lot in their neighborhoods
- most subjects had no work and no prospects for work<sup>187</sup>

These gloomy findings, according to Ezekiel, point to individuals who have a sense of abandonment, uncertainty, and vulnerability. They live in communities where

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<sup>186</sup> Ezekiel, 149-150; 150.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., 153-156.

African-Americans are a majority, and some believe blacks comprised 60 or 70 percent of the U.S. population. Unlike many of their white extremist counterparts, members of the Strike Group have been subjected to anti-white prejudice and violence and they possess a fear of black people. Ezekiel asserts that those who have joined the Strike Group have joined to gain a sense of belonging and out of terror over the fragility of their very existence.<sup>188</sup>

Earlier I quoted Ezekiel as saying that "...the lives and mental patterns displayed in the Detroit group are frequent throughout the white supremacist movement." I would not go so far as to say frequent, but I do believe that similar patterns probably occur or could occur in large urban areas in which whites are a minority. In comparing the "lives and mental patterns" of the members of this group with those of the groups discussed in the previous chapter, some fundamental differences exist. This group's low educational level (81% high school drop-out rate) and high unemployment rates are in stark contrast to the other groups, including the skinheads. Furthermore, there is nothing in the literature dealing with the other groups that would indicate they live in minority-dominated communities. Another key difference between the Detroit group and Identity Christians and Christian Constitutionalists is religion; the Detroit group apparently has no or very little religious commitment.

Ezekiel offers a unique explanation for contemporary white extremism for two reasons. First, he provides the only comprehensive psychological explanation, and secondly, he views the extremist also as a victim. I do, however, take issue with his and

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<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 154, 149, & 156-157.

the field of sociology's definition of what constitutes a gang. Contrary to their findings and/or beliefs, I believe that gangs are more often than not formed along racial lines, and that Ezekiel's group is a white gang.

An ADL publication on skinheads along with a description of seven "skinhead wannabes" discovered in the 2d Marine Aircraft Wing (2d MAW) supports a psychological explanation for skinheads as well. The ADL states, "Contrary to their claim to represent working-class youth, American Skinheads come from widely varying economic backgrounds. Their roots lie not in economic decay but in domestic instability; a high proportion of American Skinheads come from broken homes or single-parent families."<sup>189</sup> Concerning the "skinhead wannabes" in the 2d MAW, the Commanding General states, "All came from some combination of broken homes, parents who were alcohol/drug abusers, and/or the Marines had been sexually/physically abused by some adult."<sup>190</sup>

From the profiles, and explanations for white extremist involvement outlined above, there emerges three broad groups of participants in today's society. These groups are: 1) young skinheads; 2) middle aged, relatively well educated, middle class white males (e.g. members of Identity and Constitutionalist groups); and 3) impoverished white youth gangs embracing a neo-Nazi ideology. Psychological theories seem to explain why individuals join the first and third groups, whereas the political socialization, two-step mobilization and the projective politics theories, as articulated by Aho, seem adequate in

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<sup>189</sup> ADL, *The Skinhead International*, 78.

<sup>190</sup> Commander, U.S. Marine Corps Forces, Atlantic (COMMARFORLANT), *Reply to White Letter 15-95* (Camp Lejeune, N.C.: 5800/SJA, 15 Jan 96), Enclosure (1), 2.

explaining why individuals join the second type of group. Given the Detroit group's deficiency in education and dismal social conditions, the educational and mass theories would most likely have some significance in their case as well.

Of these three groups, it is the skinheads who pose the most significant problem for the military, because unlike the other two groups, they are recruitment material. As Hamm points out, they are a group of predominantly 19-20 year old high school graduates who are looking for employment and who know when to keep a low profile. This, coupled with the enormous pressure placed on recruiters to make their quotas, will invariably result in the accession of some skinheads into the U.S. military. As pointed out earlier in the discussion of Militias, the second group's threat to the military consists of its efforts to recruit active or former military members into its ranks in order to enhance their organization's military skills. Lastly, the third group poses the least threat in that their chances of recruitment are almost nil. The high secondary school dropout rates of this group would make them ineligible for recruitment by today's standards. The only possible impact localized gangs, such as the one Ezekiel describes, could have on the military would be their impact on a military community in proximity to the gangs' community. A couple of scenarios using this Detroit group could be the group conducting a racially motivated crime against a minority servicemember or a white servicemember joining or becoming involved with the group.

## V. WHITE EXTREMISM IN THE MILITARY & APPLICABLE DOD POLICY

### A. DOD POLICY

The DoD policy regarding extremism is encapsulated in *DoD Directive 1325.6 Guidelines for Handling Dissident and Protest Activity Among Members of the Armed Forces, Paragraph C.5.h.*, which states, in part:

Military personnel must reject participation in organizations that espouse supremacist causes; attempt to create illegal discrimination based on race, creed, color, sex, religion, or national origin; advocate the use of force or violence; or otherwise engage in efforts to deprive individuals of their civil rights. Active participation, such as publicly demonstrating or rallying, fund raising, recruiting and training members, organizing or leading such organizations **or in furtherance of the objectives of such organizations that are viewed by the command to be detrimental to the good order, discipline, or mission accomplishment of the unit**, is incompatible with Military Service, and is, therefore, prohibited. Commanders have authority to employ the full range of administrative procedures, including separation or appropriate disciplinary action against military personnel who actively participate in such groups. Functions of command include vigilance about the existence of such activities; active use of investigative authority to include a prompt and fair complaint process; and use of administrative powers, such as counseling, reprimands, orders, and performance evaluations to deter such activities. Military Departments shall ensure that this policy on prohibited activities is included in initial active duty training, pre-commissioning training, professional military education, commander training, and other appropriate Service training programs.<sup>191</sup>

The portions of the Paragraph C.5.h. in bold print are changes made to DoD Directive 1325.6 in 1996. These changes are significant, and will be discussed later in Chapter VI.

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<sup>191</sup> *DoDD 1325.6: Guidelines for Handling Dissident and Protest Activity Among Members of the Armed Forces* (The Pentagon: USD(P&R), October 1, 1996), 3. *DoDD 1325.6 through Ch 3* (The Pentagon: ASD(FM&P), September 12, 1969/November 16, 1994), 3.

## B. METHODOLOGY, FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ARMY TASK FORCE

The Army Report reflected a detailed analysis of extremist activity throughout the Army. The depth of their report was remarkable given the short time period they were allocated (15 December 1995 - 21 March 1996). The Task Force conducted 1,681 individual leader interviews and 5,957 interviews of soldiers and civilians in group settings at 28 major Army installations in the United States, Germany, and Korea. This was supplemented by 17,080 confidential written surveys administered by the Army Research Institute at these same locations. The interview findings were determined to be more accurate than survey findings due to the greater ability of personal interviews to corroborate reports and eliminate duplicative reporting.<sup>192</sup>

The demographics of both the interviews and the surveys reflect samples that were generally proportionate with the total Army population in regards to race, ethnicity and rank. For example 28% of those interviewed were black, which is close to the overall black composition Army-wide of 30% cited in Table 5.1 below. For those interested in specific characteristics, Annexes E and F of the Army report give detailed demographic breakdowns for the interview and survey participants.<sup>193</sup> Those participating in leader interviews included:

[T]he Commanding General, Deputy Commanding General, and Chief of Staff at installations or the Commanding General, Assistant Division Commanders, and Chief of Staff at divisional headquarters. In addition a large number of brigade commanders (colonel-level), battalion commanders (lieutenant colonel-level), and command sergeants major were interviewed at each location. The teams also interviewed select key staff members who would have knowledge as to the state of extremist activity and human relations in the areas such as: Equal Opportunity Officers and Advisors, Provost Marshals, Criminal Investigation Command agents, Command Judge Advocates,

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<sup>192</sup> DA, *Task Force Report*, 40, C-1, i & 39.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., i, E-1 & F-1.

Chaplains, Inspectors General, military mental health professionals (social workers, psychiatrists, psychologists), senior civilians, local civil police, and Federal Bureau of Investigation officers.<sup>194</sup>

From the interviews, it was determined that only .52% of those interviewed knew of a soldier or Army civilian who was an active participant in an extremist group. “Additionally, only .98% reported coming into other types of contact with extremist groups on or near Army installations.”<sup>195</sup> The surveys revealed that 3.5% of the participants had been approached to join an extremist organization since joining the Army and 7.1% reported they knew another soldier whom they believed to be a member of an extremist organization.<sup>196</sup> The numerous other findings of the Army Task Force can be derived from a review of their conclusions and recommendations which follow.

The Task Force’s conclusions are capsulated in the nine statements below, which in the Army Report are supplemented by 15 “contributing factors.”

- 1) Most commanders, leaders, and soldiers perceive that extremist activity is minimal in the Active Army.
- 2) The vast majority of soldiers perceive extremist activity as incompatible with military service.
- 3) Although there were relatively few extremists identified in the Army, leaders recognize that even a few extremists can have a pronounced dysfunctional impact on the Army’s bond with the American people, institutional values, and unit cohesion.
- 4) Extremist groups are visible and active in communities outside some Army installations. Local law enforcement authorities state that extremist groups do not seem to be specifically targeting soldiers for recruitment. The results of Task Force interviews and surveys tend to substantiate this conclusion, with the possible exception of Special Operations Forces (SOF).
- 5) The current policy on participation in extremist organizations is confusing and complicates the commander’s interpretation of extremist activity.
- 6) Gang-related activities appear to be more pervasive than extremist activities as defined in Army Regulation 600-20. Gang related activity both off post and on post (i.e., billets, military housing areas, schools, and Morale, Welfare, and Recreation facilities), sometimes involves family members and young soldiers. Gangs are a significant security concern for many soldiers.
- 7) Many soldiers and leaders were unfamiliar with the guidance contained in Army Regulation 600-20. Most soldiers believe no participation in extremist organizations, active or passive, should be tolerated. The vast majority of soldiers believe that membership should be prohibited.
- 8) The sharing of criminal intelligence, to include extremist activity, by military and civilian law enforcement authorities occurs routinely.

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<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., i.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid.

9) Existing open installations combined with less regulated barracks policies degrade the commander's <sup>197</sup> knowledge about potential extremist activities after duty hours.

Based on the above findings and conclusions, the Army Task Force made the following major recommendations:

- 1) Clarify and expand the Army's regulation on extremist activity.
- 2) Conduct separate assessments of extremist activity in the Reserve Components and Army civilian workforce.
- 3) Develop a reporting process for timely and accurate information sharing on extremism among appropriate staff agencies.
- 4) Ensure that all law enforcement and other relevant information on extremist activities is disseminated to battalion and lower levels.
- 5) Develop a process to evaluate soldiers' behavior, adaptability and human relations sensitivity during recruitment and Initial Entry Training, and screen for extremist views and participation during recruitment and Initial Entry Training.
- 6) Review soldier Initial Entry Training to ensure necessary discipline, motivation, team building, and inculcation of Army values.
- 7) Review leadership and human relations training in all pre-commissioning and professional development training.
- 8) Review the Army Equal Opportunity Program, including staffing, training and the complaint process, to ensure responsiveness to the contemporary needs of soldier and leaders.
- 9) Clarify Army policies and chain of command responsibilities for soldier quarters.
- 10) Ensure that membership in fraternal, social or private organizations does not impact on the conduct of official Army duties.
- 11) Request Department of Defense review DoD Directive 1325.6 and issue guidance on extremist organizations and activities.
- 12) Develop a Department of the Army Pamphlet on extremist activity for use by leaders at all levels.<sup>198</sup>

## **C. METHODOLOGY, FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE NAACP TASK FORCE**

The NAACP Report was conducted by the North Carolina branch and only analyzed white extremist activity in that state alone. However, unlike the Army Report, it did attempt to address the problem DoD-wide and also within the USCG. The methodology used by the NAACP Task Force was a series of off-base community forums and on-base interviews. The communities/bases analyzed were Jacksonville/Camp Lejeune Marine Corps Base, Goldsboro/Seymour Johnson Air Force Base, New

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 8 & 34-36.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., ii & 37.

Bern/Cherry Point Marine Corps Air Station, and Elizabeth City/Coast Guard Support Center. A community forum was also conducted in Fayetteville, but the Department of the Army refused to allow NAACP interviews to be conducted at Fort Bragg, which the NAACP criticized in their report.<sup>199</sup> "The [community] forums consisted of statements/remarks by community leaders and testimonies/comments by individuals."<sup>200</sup> Those interviewed at the various bases included base officials and anyone desiring to share their observations with the NAACP.<sup>201</sup>

The NAACP's findings consisted of a listing of forum and interview statements made by the participants. Most of the statements involved real or perceived instances of racist activity in or around the military bases analyzed. Although these findings do indicate that there are some problems, the methodology of the study does not allow the extent of the problem to be determined.<sup>202</sup>

An area looked at by the NAACP Task Force that was not specifically addressed by the Army Task Force was the presence of offensive symbols and materials. In addressing this issue the NAACP Report states:

Another major area of concern is the issue of symbols and offensive paraphernalia. Base officials acknowledge the existence of T-shirts, caps, car tags, etc. with Confederate flags or "X" on Base. Some officials expressed concerns about how to handle situations involving these items because of the various ideologies and perceptions associated with each. For example, an officer at Cherry Point noted that they had a situation where Confederate flags were displayed in a window on base. A black sergeant major did not consider this a problem, but a white officer did and had the flags removed.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> NAACP, *Task Force Report*, 4-6.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., 4-5.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 6-16.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 10.

The Confederate flag controversy is a gray area, even by the NAACP's standards. But as the report goes on to say, there are other symbols and materials (swastikas, hangman nooses, Nazi flags, etc.) that are clearly racist and offensive, and therefore should not be tolerated. The NAACP recommends that “[p]olicies prohibiting racist or offensive materials and the use of racial slurs should be reiterated to all military personnel. Violations should not be tolerated and should result in disciplinary action.”<sup>204</sup>

The NAACP concludes that “...Fort Bragg has serious problems. Although we were unable to meet with base personnel, the anecdotal evidence suggests that the military's finding of only 22 skinheads out of 14,736 soldiers assigned to the 82nd Airborne Division, is unbelievably optimistic. We believe that, at least in the case of Fort Bragg, the potential for (if not the reality of) organized racist or skinhead activities clearly exists.”<sup>205</sup> However, the NAACP Report also concluded that no indication of an organized skinhead movement was present in the areas that the NAACP Task Force visited.<sup>206</sup> The following constitute some of the more relevant recommendations offered by the NAACP:

- 1) The military should develop uniform interpretations of policies addressing active vs passive participation in white supremacist and skinhead groups. These uniform interpretations should be communicated to all military personnel.
- 2) Policies prohibiting racist or offensive materials and the use of racial slurs should be reiterated to all military personnel. Violations should not be tolerated and should result in disciplinary action.
- 3) Base officials should seek to establish and maintain good working relationships between the base and the community to facilitate the identification and resolution of problems or concerns, to share information, and to “feel the pulse” of race relations.
- 4) The base commander should designate a senior officer to serve as a liaison between the base and the local NAACP branch.
- 5) NAACP branches should sponsor periodic open community forums where veterans, retired civilian personnel, community leaders, and representatives of base command can discuss issues, identify and resolve problems, and foster better base/community relations.
- 6) Base officials should seek the participation of the African American community in base activities open

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 11 & 17.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

to the public.

7) The ... NAACP should seek to work with base commanders to identify projects that can enhance the relationship between the military and the minority community.<sup>207</sup>

A final point that bears mentioning is an implicit theme that runs through the NAACP Report. This theme stems from the following statement found in the introduction: "In recent times, the military has been typically viewed by African Americans and other minorities as a place where young men and women can find secure employment, learn skills that can be transferred to civilian life, and save money for college. Advancement through the ranks was thought to be mainly on merit. Many thought that racism of the larger society was largely under control in the military."<sup>208</sup> What the NAACP Report is conveying is that with the emergence of recent racial problems in the military, this statement may no longer be true. In other words, young, talented minorities may see the military as a racist organization and therefore not an employment option. The reality or even perception of this would create a recruiting nightmare for all the services, who even in today's downsized military rely heavily on minority recruitment. Even if this recruitment shortfall could be made up by recruiting more whites it would surely have detrimental effects on the military's relationship to society by failing to reflect its racial and ethnic make up.

#### **D. ARMY AND NAACP RECOMMENDATIONS COMPARED**

The Army and the NAACP recommendations coincide on two key issues. The first deals with the need to review, clarify and strengthen regulations pertaining to extremist activity by servicemembers (Army recommendations 1 and 11; NAACP

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<sup>207</sup> Ibid., 17-18.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., 1.

recommendation 1). The other issue relates to the education of servicemembers concerning discrimination policies, to include the handling of grievances and the consequences of violating policy (Army recommendations 7 and 8; NAACP recommendation 2).

All of the Army's recommendations are essentially focused on internal fixes within the Army/DoD itself. The first two NAACP recommendations coincided with some of these Army recommendations because they too addressed problems internal to the Army/DoD. The remaining NAACP recommendations address civil-military relations, particularly as they pertain to the African American community. These recommendations speak to a different aspect of the problem than that addressed by the Army. The last five NAACP recommendations could be instituted by establishment of the base liaison officer mentioned in NAACP recommendation 4. The most logical sourcing of this officer would be from the base Equal Opportunity Office. This officer could provide not only liaison with the NAACP but with other civil rights groups as well (i.e. ADL and SPLC).

## **E. WHITE EXTREMISM DOD-WIDE**

The Army Report was the most extensive analysis of extremism throughout DoD. The other services apparently conducted assessments at the local command level. For example, on 18 December 1995 the Commandant of the Marine Corps issued *White Letter No. 15-95* which directed all Commanding Generals, Commanding Officers, Officers in Charge and Sergeants Major to "... review DoD Directive 1325.6 and MCO 5370.4A and personally assess the potential for problems in [their] commands by 15

January 1996.”<sup>209</sup> Various methods, to include squad and platoon level discussions, random surveys, and liaison with the Navy Criminal Investigative Service (NCIS), were used by the units conducting these assessments.<sup>210</sup>

Table 5.1 shows the most recent fiscal year for which published data is available for black and Hispanic composition of the active component of the U.S. armed forces and for the comparative civilian age group. In reviewing this data I began to wonder if a correlation could be established between the racial composition of a particular service and the likelihood of extremist activity in that service. In other words, has the presence of a relatively larger minority in the Army vis-à-vis the other services resulted in more extremist activity in the Army than elsewhere in DoD? I soon realized that this was an extremely complicated question and that it could be a thesis topic in its own right. Thus, attempting to answer this question here goes beyond my goal of simply presenting an assumption of the status of white extremism throughout DoD.

Table 5.1 FY 1994 Black & Hispanic Active Component Enlisted Members with Civilian Comparison Group (in %)<sup>211</sup>

	Black	Hispanic	Total Black & Hispanic
Army	30.31	5.33	35.64
Navy	18.10	7.13	25.23
Marine Corps	17.29	9.15	26.44
Air Force	16.82	3.94	20.76
Total DoD	21.76	5.95	27.71
18-44 yr. old civilians	11.80	10.60	22.40

<sup>209</sup> Commandant of the Marine Corps, *White Letter No. 15-95: Hate Groups* (Washington, D.C.: CMC-JA, 18 Dec 95), 1.

<sup>210</sup> COMMARFORLANT, *Reply to White Letter 15-95*. Commanding General, Marine Corps Air Ground Combat Center (MCAGCC), *Assessment of Hate Group Activity* (MCAGCC, Twentynine Palms, CA.: 5300/17/1, 5 Jan 96).

<sup>211</sup> Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy), *Population Representation in the Military Services: Fiscal Year 1994* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, December 1995), D-17 - D-18.

Perhaps the only assumption that can be made at this point is based on the findings of the Army Report and the NAACP Report. These indicate negligible involvement of Army personnel in white extremist activity and no organized skinhead movements in the proximity of North Carolina bases, respectively. Assuming that the military services recruit from a cross section of society, as they frequently claim, this negligible involvement is probably true of service personnel DoD-wide. An estimate of skinheads within the Marine Corps offers a good illustration. Using the earlier estimate of 3,500 skinheads and 3,500 skinhead "wanna-be's" nationwide, it can be extrapolated that there are an estimated 22 skinheads/skinhead "wanna-be's" in the Marine Corps based on the proposition that the Marine Corps' membership reflects a cross section of American society.<sup>212</sup> Currently, active duty involvement appears to be much less in other white extremist groups (e.g. the KKK and militias) than in the skinhead group. The estimated numbers of Marines involved in these other groups would consequently be below 22. The skinhead movement appears to be in vogue for those servicemembers desiring a white extremist group affiliation. Therefore, estimates of skinheads within the armed forces, using the same formula used to estimate U.S.M.C. skinheads can provide a good approximation of the scope of the white extremist problem in the military.

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<sup>212</sup> The following formula was used in determining the estimated number of skinheads/skinhead "wanna-be's" in the U.S.M.C.:  $(7000 / \text{total 18 - 24 year old white U.S. population}) \times (\text{total U.S.M.C. white corporals and below})$ . Note: In the U.S.M.C. corporals and below essentially constitute the 18 - 24 year old age group.

Total 18 - 24 year old white U.S. population for 1995 = 25,465,000. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States* [on compact disc] (Washington, D.C.: Administrative and Customer Services Division, 1996), Card 24.

Total U.S.M.C. white corporals and below as of 30 September 1995 = 79,717. U.S. Marine Corps, "Almanac 96: People," *Marines*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: GPO), 23.

Responses to the Commandant of the Marine Corps' *White Letter No. 15-95*

mirror those of the Army and NAACP reports in regards to organized extremity activity in the vicinity of Marine Corps' bases. The Commanding General of the Marine Corps Air Ground Combat Center (MCAGCC) states, "NCIS intelligence indicates there is no organized hate group activity off base that poses a threat of recruitment to service members."<sup>213</sup> The Commander, U.S. Marine Corps Forces, Atlantic states, "I was encouraged that the comments we received from our Marines and Sailors tended to corroborate the verbal outbrief that we received just two weeks ago from the NAACP TASK FORCE that visited Camp Lejeune. You may recall that, after meeting with literally hundreds of Marines in small groups or on an individual basis, the NAACP delegation found no indications that supremacist groups were active aboard our bases nor did they uncover any evidence of recruitment for such organizations."<sup>214</sup>

Responses to *White Letter No. 15-95* also support the Army Report's finding of negligible involvement of service personnel in extremist activity as well as the rough estimate of skinheads/skinhead "wanna-be's" in the Marine Corps outlined above. The Commanding General (CG) of the 2d Marine Aircraft Wing (MAW) states:

In the past year we had [an incident] which may fall into the hate crime/hate group category...The...incident involved seven "skinhead wannabes." All came from some combination of broken homes, parents who were alcohol/drug abusers, and/or the Marines had been sexually/physically abused by some adult. These seven incorporated the following "fashion statements" into their group identity: shaved heads for males, extremely short hair for females; body piercing (tongue, nipples, genitalia, ears); leather jackets, black jump boots; eccentric tattoos depicting death, the occult, obscenities, anti-everyone statements. We have discharged six of these individuals. The seventh is awaiting civil trial for assault charges.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> CG MCAGCC, *Assessment of Hate Group Activity*.

<sup>214</sup> COMMARFORLANT, *Reply to White Letter 15-95*, 1.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, Enclosure (1), 2-3.

The CG of the MCAGCC states:

An ongoing NCIS investigation has revealed that 8 - 10 Marines attached to 1st Marine Division (Rein) units on board the Combat Center have engaged in group activities espousing supremacist and racist ideals. The investigation indicates that these Marines engaged in recruitment activities and distribution of supremacist literature. However, there is no evidence linking the group to criminal or violent acts.<sup>216</sup>

This investigation was concluded shortly after the CG's statement and resulted in the administrative discharge of four of the Marines. Three of these individuals were skinhead "wanna-be's," but one admitted to being a skinhead for about a year prior to his enlistment. Of the remaining four to six Marines mentioned by the CG, one had been discharged prior to the investigation, one was confirmed to be a SHARP (Skinhead Against Racial Prejudice) and the others were cleared of any wrongdoing. No action was taken on the SHARP.<sup>217</sup>

The case of another skinhead joining the Marine Corps was reported in the 19 August 1996 edition of *Time* magazine. The article discussed former Marine and skinhead, Thomas James Leyden, Jr., who in June of that year "...walked into the Simon Wiesenthal Center's Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles and renounced his former life."<sup>218</sup> On 2 October 1996, Leyden was interviewed by Master Sergeant Dewey, USMC from the Criminal Investigation Division at Marine Corps Air Station Tustin, CA. Dewey states that Leyden was on a mission when he joined the Marine Corps, the mission "...was to be trained by the Marine Corps so he could better serve as a skinhead back on the streets of Fontana, California. Leyden related that is common knowledge that

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<sup>216</sup> CG MCAGCC, *Assessment of Hate Group Activity*.

<sup>217</sup> This information was extracted from the administrative separation documents of the four Marines who were discharged and was provided by CWO-2 Lee. Privacy considerations preclude a more detailed citation of these documents.

<sup>218</sup> James Willwerth, "Confessions of a Skinhead," *Time*, 19 August 1996, 56-57.

the U.S. Military is a great way for various groups to obtain training. Within the skinhead organization, leaders would direct individuals into the military and instruct them once they received the level of training they felt was sufficient, commit some act like smoking marijuana to get kicked out.”<sup>219</sup> Prior to receiving an Other Than Honorable Discharge in 1990 “...for a history of incidents involving violence and drinking.,” Leyden recruited three other Marines and a sailor into the skinhead movement.<sup>220</sup>

From the above examples and the Fayetteville case, it appears that skinhead participation by servicemembers consists of groups of individuals concentrated in a couple of units (i.e. an Army division and a Marine regiment and air wing) rather than one or two individuals scattered throughout several units. The membership of these groups consisted primarily or mainly of skinhead “wanna-be’s.” There is no evidence that these groups were connected to any skinhead groups outside the military. In fact neither Leyden or the individual from MCAGCC who claimed skinhead involvement prior to enlisting, mention any links with civilian skinhead groups while they were on active duty. However, some members did possess literature, music and videos that are distributed by other white extremist groups. Regarding the terrorist skinheads, described in **Chapter III**, who conceal their identity by not adhering to the traditional skinhead look - there exists no evidence of them in my analysis of the Marine Corps. Leyden and the eleven Marines from MCAGCC and the 2d MAW all had worn skinhead attire frequently during off-duty hours.<sup>221</sup> Again, based on the proposition that the Services

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<sup>219</sup> Inspector General of the Marine Corps’ (IGMCS’) e-mail dated 9 January 1997.

<sup>220</sup> Willwerth, 57. IGMCS’ e-mail.

<sup>221</sup> This information was extracted from the administrative separation documents of the four Marines who were discharged and was provided by CWO-2 Lee. Privacy considerations preclude a more detailed

recruit from a cross section of society, it is assumed that these incognito terrorists are not present in any of the other Services.

Servicemember participation in other white extremist groups, such as the KKK and the militias is probably just the opposite of that of skinhead participation. Judging from the examples given in the literature, many of which I cited earlier, members of these groups are most likely people widely scattered throughout the armed forces who have affiliations with groups outside the military.

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citation of these documents. COMMARFORLANT, *Reply to White Letter 15-95* , Enclosure (1), 2-3. IGMCs' e-mail. Willwerth, 57.

## VI. CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

In American society there exist extremists of all bents; presently the white extremists are the most prominent. Despite the alleged involvement of former military personnel in the Oklahoma City bombing and active duty personnel in the Fayetteville slayings, it would appear that the presence of violent extremists in the U.S. military is minimal. However, as indicated throughout this thesis and as summarized in Table 6.1 below, there are/were several other former military men involved in white extremist organizations, in many cases filling leadership roles.

Table 6.1 Former Military Personnel Involved in White Extremist & Far-right Groups (\* denotes individual was on active duty when murder occurred)

Name	Service	Rank	Group	Position/Event Associated With
Beam, Louis R.	USA	Enlisted Man	Aryan Nations/Militia Movement	"Ambassador-at-Large"/ Militia Activist
Burmeister, James M. *	USA	PFC.	Skinheads	Fayetteville Murder
Gale, William Potter	USA	Colonel	Christian Identity/ Posse Comitatus	Leader
Gritz, James "Bo"	USA	Colonel	Militia Movement	Leader/Trainer
Koernke, Mark	USA	Officer	Militia Movement	Activist
Leyden, Thomas	USMC	Junior Enlisted	Skinheads	Member
McManus, John F.	USMC	Officer	John Birch Society	President
McVeigh, Timothy	USA	Sergeant	None	OK City Bombing Suspect
Meadows, Randy Lee *	USA	Specialist 4	Skinheads	Fayetteville Murder
Metzger, Tom	USA	Corporal	White Aryan Resistance	Leader
Mullins, James Roy	USAF	Unknown	Blue Ridge Hunt Club (Militia Group)	Leader
Nichols, Terry	USA	PFC.	None	OK City Bombing Suspect
Skurdal, Rodney	USMC	Master Sergeant	Montana Freemen	Leader
Smith, Frank	USAF	Unknown	Georgia Militia	Leader
Stump, Bill	USMC	Unknown	Blue Ridge Hunt Club (Militia Group)	"Official Political Liaison Officer"
Weaver, Randall	USA	Sergeant	White Separatist	Ruby Ridge, ID.
Wright, Malcolm *	USA	PFC.	Skinheads	Fayetteville Murder

Again, the main threat, in terms of groups, are the skinheads and the militias. The skinheads by virtue of the fact that the largest age group in the military coincides with that of the majority of skinheads; the militias due to their desire for military training.

I decided to look into this whole problem of white extremism and its impact on the U.S. military due to the simple belief that no matter how small the problem is, it could pose a serious threat to the “good order and discipline” and ultimate combat effectiveness of the military. My thoughts in this regard were validated when I first read the third conclusion of the Army Report, which stated that “[a]lthough there were relatively few extremists identified in the Army, leaders recognize that even a few extremists can have a pronounced dysfunctional impact on the Army’s bond with the American people, institutional values, and unit cohesion.”<sup>222</sup>

The Department of Defense has taken into consideration the findings and recommendations of the Army and the NAACP dealing with the need to review, clarify and strengthen regulations pertaining to extremist activity by servicemembers. The result was the republishing of *DoD Directive 1325.6 Guidelines for Handling Dissident and Protest Activity Among Members of the Armed Forces* on October 1, 1996. Specifically, the changes made to paragraph C.5.h. of this directive give unit commanders wide latitude in determining those activities that are prohibited. If the commander determines that an activity is “...detrimental to the good order, discipline, or mission accomplishment of the unit...”<sup>223</sup> he/she can prohibit that activity. This provision is especially useful in dealing with such contentious issues as the displaying of the Confederate flag on base and

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<sup>222</sup> DA, *Task Force Report*, 34.

<sup>223</sup> DoDD 1325.6, 1996 ed., 3.

passive participation in an extremist group (i.e. the commander is within his/her authority to prohibit it).

Closely associated with DoD Directive 1325.6 is the Services' policies on equal opportunity. Among other things, these policies implicitly address the situation in which a commander fails to take appropriate action on an issue that is discriminatory. For example, MCO P5354.1C, the *Marine Corps Equal Opportunity Manual*, allows any individual to file a formal complaint of discrimination in one of five ways: 1) request mast (a procedure in which a verbal and/or written complaint can be presented to any commanding officer within the complainant's chain of command); 2) Article 138, Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) complaint; 3) redress of wrong(s) committed by a superior; 4) communications with Inspectors General; and 5) individual communications with Congress. As a supplement to MCO P5354.1C, a poster describing the procedures for processing of discrimination/sexual harassment complaints is required to be displayed at every command. For example, if an individual feels discriminated against due to the display of the Confederate flag on base, and requests his/her commander take action under DoD Directive 1325.6 and the commander fails to take action, the complainant can pursue the issue via the procedures outlined in MCO P5354.1C.<sup>224</sup>

The revised DoD Directive 1325.6 along with *DoD Directive 1350.2, DoD Military Equal Opportunity (MEO) Program*, addresses the Army's seventh

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<sup>224</sup> *Marine Corps Order P5354.1C: Marine Corps Equal Opportunity Manual*, 29 February 1996, 4-4. NAVMC 2921: *Marine Corps Procedures for Processing of Discrimination/Sexual Harassment Complaints for Military Personnel*.

recommendation concerning leadership and human relations training. DoD Directive 1350.2 mandates that all military personnel shall periodically receive equal opportunity and human relations training. DoD Directive 1325.6 mandates that the DoD's policy on extremist activities be "...included in initial active duty training, pre-commissioning training, professional military education, commander training, and other appropriate Service training programs."<sup>225</sup> Training designed to educate leaders on the indicators of extremist activity (i.e. tattoos, clothing, literature, music, etc.) and that provides them information on local extremist groups is also required. DoD Directive 1325.6 should be changed to reflect the requirement for this additional training.

Although the revised edition of DoD Directive 1325.6 implicitly prohibits passive participation, it can, and should, explicitly state this. The question of the constitutionality of prohibiting servicemembers from joining extremist groups is similar to the one that was posed several years ago when urinalysis was introduced to fight another internal DoD problem (i.e. drugs). As the Army Report indicates, most servicemembers understand that they forfeit a certain amount of constitutional rights when they put on the uniform. One of these rights they should have to forego is being a member of an extremist group. The first sentence of Paragraph C.5.h of DoD Directive 1325.6 should be changed to read: "Military personnel are prohibited from active or passive participation in organizations that espouse supremacist causes; attempt to create illegal discrimination based on race, creed, color, sex, religion, or national origin; advocate the

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<sup>225</sup> DoDD 1350.2, DoD Military Equal Opportunity (MEO) Program (The Pentagon: USD(P&R), August 18, 1995), 3. DoDD 1325.6, 1996 ed., 3.

use of force or violence; or otherwise engage in efforts to deprive individuals of their civil rights."

A constitutional issue that concerns me, however, is one posed by the Army Task Force's fifth recommendation. It is specifically that portion of the recommendation that calls for the screening for extremist views and participation during recruitment and initial entry training. I am not fundamentally opposed to this provision, but am concerned about how it will be implemented. The potential exists that it could turn into another "don't ask/don't tell" dilemma. However, as long as the law authorizes it, recruiters should continue to screen potential recruits for extremist views/participation through interviews and by questions included with the enlistment paperwork. This approach alone probably will not prevent another Thomas Leyden from joining the Marine Corps or one of the other Services, because an individual could simply lie during the interview and on the paperwork. Recruiters need to be knowledgeable of the extremist groups in their locale - to include membership profiles - and they need to conduct thorough background checks on potential recruits. Questions concerning extremist views or group affiliations of a potential recruit need to be addressed to that individual's teachers and associates.

Screening for extremist views during boot camp can be facilitated by ensuring that minority recruits are spread evenly throughout training units so as to be present at the smallest sub-unit possible. This would enable trainers to observe how their recruits interact with other ethnic groups. Boot camp is, however, a time of extremely high conformism, and consequently an extremist is most likely to suppress his/her views during this period. This policy of evenly distributing minorities to ensure their presence

in every small unit, along with the associated monitoring of personal interactions by the unit leader, must therefore extend beyond recruit training and into the operating forces.

Special Operations Forces were mentioned twice in the Army Report. The first reference was concerning extremist recruitment of active duty soldiers, and stated: "Overall, little active recruiting of soldiers by extremist organizations is evident. A possible exception could be Special Operations Forces, which some senior commanders believe are targeted by the militia movement."<sup>226</sup> The second reference was in reference to shifting demographics, and stated that "[w]hile the absence of minorities was quite noticeable in all combat units, it is even more pronounced within Special Operations Forces. This representation might lead to adverse human relations consequences in the future by fostering supremacist attitudes among white combat arms soldiers."<sup>227</sup> This would suggest a correlation exactly opposite of the one I proposed in **Section E** of the preceding chapter.

Another development involving SOF members is *The Resister* magazine put out by the so-called "Special Forces Underground." According to a feature article in the February 1996 issue of *Soldier of Fortune* magazine, *The Resister* is a pro-Constitution, pro-capitalist, anti-United Nations and anti-communist clandestine political magazine that has been in existence for the last two years.<sup>228</sup> The DoD must take a closer look at SOF forces in regards to the two issues raised in the Army Report and due to the existence of a politically oriented underground organization within Army SOF. If the under-

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<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>228</sup> James L. Pate, "Witch-hunt for the Resister: Army Special Operations Command Beats Bushes For Maverick Magazine," *Soldier of Fortune*, February 1996, 49 & 46-47.

representation of minorities in SOF units is determined to foster supremacist attitudes among white members of these units, then action must be taken to diversify the composition of these units. This could be accomplished by increasing the percentage of minorities in these units, and as stated above, ensuring minorities are spread throughout the unit in such a way as to be represented in the smallest sub-units possible.

The final conclusion in the Army Report - the degradation of the commander's knowledge about potential extremist activities due to open installations and less regulated barracks policies - is partly collaborated by a statement by a Marine Corps commander. In response to *White Letter No. 15-95*, the Commanding Officer of 2d Surveillance, Reconnaissance and Intelligence Group states, "Barracks which become 'ethnically oriented' because of lax billeting standards also create a potential for problems."<sup>229</sup> There are solutions to these two problems. Unlike the Army, the Marine Corps has no "open installations," all open gates leading into Marine installations are manned at all times by Marine military policemen. The Secretary of Defense should adopt the Marine Corps standard and prohibit the practice of "open installations." The best solution for better regulating barracks life (i.e. a return to the open squad bay) probably can never be realized due to today's emphasis on "quality of life." However, other measures can and should be taken. Servicemembers should be *assigned* to barracks rooms based on the racially diverse small units proposed above. In other words, an individual must reside with members of his unit. Small unit leaders as well as officer and senior enlisted watch

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<sup>229</sup> Commanding Officer, 2d Surveillance, Reconnaissance and Intelligence Group Commander, *Hate Group Assessment* (Camp Lejeune, N.C.: 5800/S-1, 11 Jan 96), 1.

standers should periodically tour all billeting areas under their purview and both scheduled and unscheduled room inspections should be routinely conducted.

A recommendation the Army has yet to implement is the one calling for the development of a Department of the Army Pamphlet on extremist activity.<sup>230</sup> However, as stated earlier in **Chapter III**, the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) published the *Extremist Handbook* in 1996. This handbook contains 20 pages of material on such topics as broad statistics, extremist ideologies (both left and right wing), group listings, indicators (i.e. graffiti, hand signs, tattoos, clothing and accessories, and extremist bands), and extremist internet web sites. A discussion with one of the co-authors of this handbook revealed that it was a first draft quickly produced in order to get something out to the Services immediately. An improved version with more depth and a better citation of sources is planned for some future date. The section dealing with indicators is most helpful and extracts of it can be found at the APPENDIX to this thesis.<sup>231</sup>

The Army Task Force added balance to its report by acknowledging the assistance of civil rights groups such as the ADL, the NAACP and the Southern Poverty Law Center. Furthermore, the DEOMI referenced these groups in the *Extremist Handbook*.<sup>232</sup> I also found these organizations extremely helpful in obtaining information for my thesis. However, what must be kept in mind is that they, like any other organization, have a tendency to let their own institutional bias influence the information they provide. To

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<sup>230</sup> 9 April 1997 telephone conversation with Lieutenant Colonel John Bressler, USA, Equal Opportunity Branch, Headquarters, Department of the Army.

<sup>231</sup> DEOMI, *Extremist Handbook*. 21 February 1997 telephone conversation with Captain Jeffrey Johnson, USMC, DEOMI co-author of *Extremist Handbook*.

<sup>232</sup> DA, *Task Force Report*, 45. DEOMI, *Extremist Handbook*.

gain a better and more balanced understanding of white extremism, those dealing with the issue in DoD should also consult with such people as James Aho, Mark Hamm and Raphael Ezekiel. Referring back to the earlier discussion on Skinheads, for example, it was Hamm who pointed out two years before the Fayetteville slayings that Skinheads had infiltrated the Army and that there exist both racist and anti-racist Skinheads.

The assessments of extremist activity conducted by the Services in the wake of the Fayetteville murders have focused attention on and provided a baseline for this problem. What is needed now is constant monitoring of this problem at the small unit level. Platoon commanders, platoon sergeants and squad leaders need to know the indicators of extremist activity and have knowledge of the extremist groups operating in their locale. As discussed in this thesis, these indicators include tattoos, distinctive clothing, literature and music. Specific examples of some of these indicators can be found in the Appendix.

Many of these indicators were present in the cases of Leyden and the other Marine skinheads/skinhead "wanna-be's. In fact Leyden's immediate superiors, and some of the MCAGCC skinheads' immediate superiors (i.e. platoon commanders/sergeants), were aware of their subordinates' activities and attempted to handle it at their level through informal counseling.<sup>233</sup> The Fayetteville slayings were a wake up call for the Services. The seriousness of this problem has been realized and it is unlikely that a platoon

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<sup>233</sup> IGMCS' e-mail. Willwerth, 57. This information was extracted from the administrative separation documents of the four Marines who were discharged and was provided by CWO-2 Lee. Privacy considerations preclude a more detailed citation of these documents. COMMARFORLANT, *Reply to White Letter 15-95*, Enclosure (1), 2-3.

commander or platoon sergeant today would attempt to handle a problem of this nature at their level, nor is it recommended.

In summary, the recommendations I have proposed in addition to those made by the Army and the NAACP, are: 1) the prohibition of passive participation in extremist groups through a change to DoD Directive 1325.6; 2) that leaders receive periodic training in the indicators of extremist activity and information on local extremist groups; 3) that minorities are spread evenly throughout units so as to be present at the smallest sub-units possible; this should prevent the appearance or reality of "ethnically oriented" units and should allow small unit leaders to observe how their majority and minority subordinates interact; 4) servicemembers should likewise be assigned to barracks rooms based on these ethnically diverse small units; 5) the DoD should prohibit the policy of "open installations;" and 6) the DoD (e.g. DEOMI) should consult with those in academia who are subject matter experts on extremism.

Even with the implementation of the recommendations made by the Army, the NAACP and I, the future does hold several uncertainties. One is the relative growth of minorities vis-à-vis white non-Hispanic Americans and how this will affect the racial climate of society and the military itself. Between 1996 and 2050, the overall U.S. minority population is expected to increase from 26.7% to 47.2% of the total population. Of more significance to the military is the fact that minorities will comprise 64% of the recruitment age males (i.e. 18-22 years) in the U.S. by 2050.<sup>234</sup> Increased racial

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<sup>234</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P25-1130.

integration will almost certainly occur as a result of this increased multiculturalism. The ethnic makeup of the country will be entirely different in 50 years.

There are two opposite schools of thought concerning racial integration. One believes that increased integration causes more conflict and friction. The other believes that increased integration breaks down barriers and promotes understanding and cooperation. Those who adhere to the former-and more pessimistic-school of thought could point to the individual services' minority statistics provided in Table 5.1 and say: The Army currently has the most problems with white extremism because it has a larger percentage of minorities than the other services and the nation as a whole. As I stated earlier, attempting to prove this hypothesis would constitute a thesis in itself and therefore goes beyond the scope of this study.

Either interrelated to, or as a consequence of, this shift in racial/ethnic demographics are some futuristic political, economic and social concerns. For example, as the minority populations increase, so will their political power, which begs the question: What effect will this power shift away from Euro-Americans have on race relations and white extremists? Turning next to economic concerns, will the next half century be a period of rapid economic change and dislocation? If so, who will be the winners and losers? And what role will affirmative action play in the year 2050? Finally, there is the issue of immigration, both legal and illegal. With more immigrants (predominantly minorities) coming into the country than the socio-economic structure can absorb, racial tensions and white extremist activity are likely to rise.

This country and its military have survived for over 221 years despite frequent periods of turmoil and uncertainty. The recent rise in white extremism is just another challenge to be faced. Through vigilance and perseverance this challenge and the future uncertainties associated with it can be overcome.

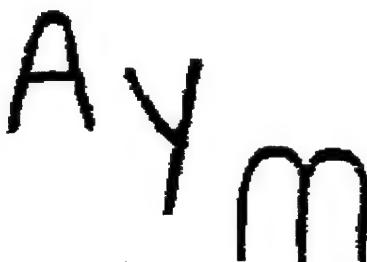
## APPENDIX. WHITE EXTREMISM INDICATORS

This Appendix depicts some of the symbols most commonly associated with white extremist groups and contains a listing of international white power music bands. Most of the material is unique to the skinheads because of the importance of symbols and music in this culture. Indicators of the other group that poses the greatest threat to the military - the militias - are not as numerous or obvious as those for skinhead involvement and mainly centers around literature. The extensive amount of this literature precludes its inclusion in this Appendix. Examples of literature that a servicemember involved with a militia may have, include various anti-government papers, survivalist handbooks, *The Turner Diaries*, or the *Articles of Confederation*.

### A. TATTOOS/SYMBOLS<sup>235</sup>

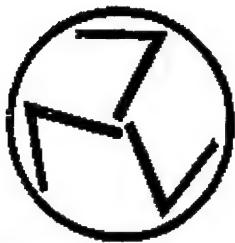


W.A.R. Swastika

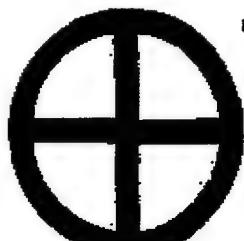


Aryan Youth Movement

<sup>235</sup> DEOMI, *Extremist Handbook*. ADL, *The Skinhead International*. ADL, *Young Nazi Killers*.



The  
Three Bladed  
Swastika



Celtic Cross



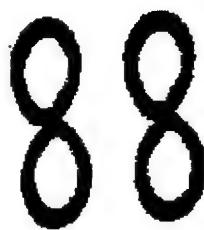
The Thunderbolt



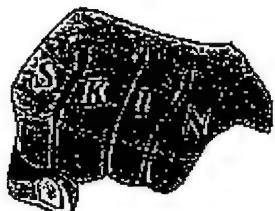
Church of the  
Creator

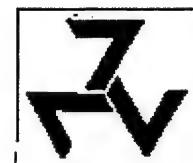


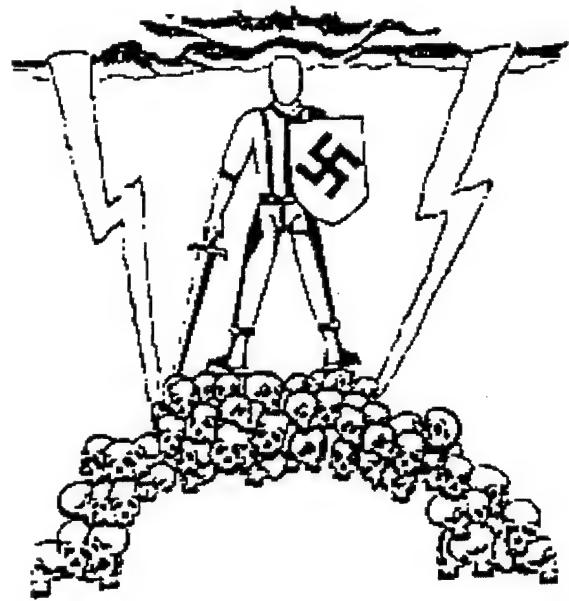
The Night  
Rider

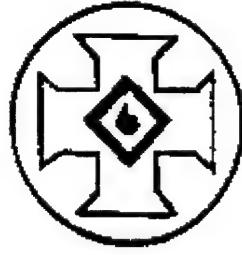
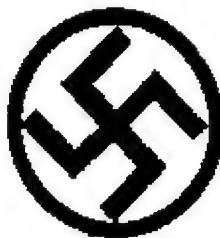
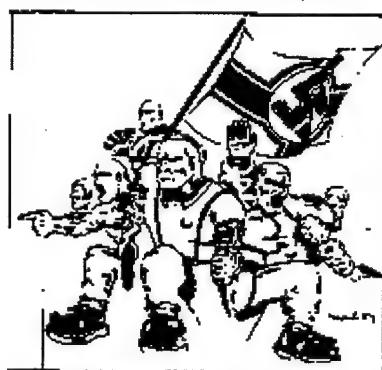


H is the 8th letter of the  
alphabet, this denotes  
HEIL HITLER









**Aryan Nations**

**Klan Blood Drop**

## B. WHITE POWER BANDS<sup>236</sup>

<u>United Kingdom</u>	<u>Germany</u>	<u>United States</u>
Skrewdriver	Kahlkopf	New Glory
Public Enemy	Bohse Onkelz	Bound for Glory
Lionheart	Vortex	Kicker Boys
No Remorse	Endstufe	Anti Heroes
The Klansmen	Die Alluerten	Doc Marten
Vengeance	Cotzbroken	Arresting Officers
Brutal Attack	Bodychecks	
Oi Polloi	Storkraft	<u>Australia</u>
Carry On Oi	Storstufe	
Skullhead		White Noise
Boots and Braces		
Indecent Exposure	<u>France</u>	<u>Sweden</u>
Empire		
Ian Stuart and Strikeforce	Chaves Pourris	Ultima Thule
Squadron	Legion SS	Dirlewanger
Sudden Impact	Skincorps	
Elite Terror	Brutal Combat	<u>Canada</u>
The Mad Hatters	Warrior Kids	
Condemned 84	Evil Skins	Rohowa
	Snix	

### Czech Republic

Excalibur

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<sup>236</sup> DEOMI, *Extremist Handbook*.

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